

JPRS 81162

29 JUNE 1982

# Near East/North Africa Report

No. 2572

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

29 June 1982

## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2572

## CONTENTS

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

## Briefs

PCI Aide Visits Arab League	1
-----------------------------	---

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

Issues of Palestinian National Struggle in West Bank, Gaza Strip (George Nasif; SHU'UN FALASTINIYAH, Oct 81) .....	2
Interview With Khalid al-Hasan in Monte Carlo (Radio Monte Carlo, 11 Jun 82) .....	32
PLO Official Calls for Arab Troops in Lebanon (ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, 12 Jun 82) .....	36
PLO Spokesman Discusses Israeli Invasion, Palestinian Struggle (Abdallah al-Ifranji Interview; WESTDEUTSCHER RUNDFUNK NETWORK, 15 Jun 82) .....	38
PLO Official Criticizes Arab Governments (KUNA, 16 Jun 82) .....	40
PLO Military Official on Israeli Invasion (AL-KHALIJ, 19 Jun 82) .....	42
PLO Paper Discusses Israeli Threat to Syria (Voice of Palestine, 20 Jun 82) .....	44
Abu Jihad Says Palestinians Can Fight On (KUNA, 21 Jun 82) .....	47
'Atiqah Discusses OAPEC's Role, Activities (ARAB TIMES, 11 Jun 82) .....	49
Briefs	
PLO Demands POW Status	51
Palestinians on Hunger Strike	51

## AFGHANISTAN

Karmal Regime Publicizes Social Welfare Measures (KABUL NEW TIMES, various dates) .....	52
Reconstruction of Society Party's Welfare Plans Expanded Polyclinic Activities More Maternity Health Care Pro-People Measures	
Prospectives of National Education Program Reviewed (KABUL NEW TIMES, various dates) .....	59

## ALGERIA

Cherchell Military Academy Examined (EL MOUDJAHID, 19 May 82) .....	66
------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

## EGYPT

Government's Efforts for Sinai Reconstruction (AL-AHRAM, various dates) .....	70
12,000 Workers Hired, by Ahmad al-Tabarani Sharm al-Shaykh and al-'Aqabah Sea Bridge, by Mahmud Kamil Taba and Tourism, by Hasan 'Ashur, Ahmad al-Tabarani Geological Research in Sinai	
Communications in Sinai (Muhammad al-Minyawi; AL-AHRAR, 3 May 82) .....	74
Conference With Israelis Discusses Conflict Resolution (Ibrahim al-Bahrawi; AL-AKHBAR, 25 May 82) .....	78

## IRAN

Tehran Continues To Display Its Confidence (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 10 Jun 82) .....	82
Mullahs Plan To Control Reconstruction Process (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 10 Jun 82) .....	85
Israeli Admissions on Arms Embarrass Khomeyni (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 10 Jun 82) .....	87
Mullahs View of World Politics (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 10 Jun 82) .....	89
Last Chance for Bakhtiar (IRAN PRESS SERVICE, 10 Jun 82) .....	93



Law To Nationalize Foreign Trade Published (KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL, various dates) .....	97
Foreign Trade To Undergo Basic Evolution (IRAN PRESS DIGEST, 25 May 82) .....	100
Wholesale Price Index Examined (IRAN PRESS DIGEST, 25 May 82) .....	104
Iran National Studies Natural Gas for Coal Fuel (IRAN PRESS DIGEST, 25 May 82) .....	106
Oil Deals With Brazil Reviewed (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, 31 May 82) .....	109
Briefs Iraqi Missile Hit .....	112
ISRAEL	
Kibbutz Movement Urged To Establish New Settlements (M.P. Yakov Zur; DAVAR, 21 Apr 82) .....	113
Autonomy Movement Seen as Modified Allon Plan (Aaron Yariv; DAVAR, 7 Apr 82) .....	116
JORDAN	
Briefs Injustices Against Palestinians .....	122
Tactical Exercise .....	122
KUWAIT	
'AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM' Discusses U.S. Stand on Lebanon (KUNA, 18 Jun 82) .....	123
'AL-WATAN' Denies U.S. View of Soviet Threat (KUNA, 18 Jun 82) .....	125
Soviet Stand on Lebanon Scorned (Editorial; AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, 15 Jun 82) .....	126
'AL'WATAN' States Syrian Attitude Not Up to Expectations (Editorial; AL-WATAN, 15 Jun 82) .....	128
Israeli Invasion's Objectives Noted (Editorial; AL-QABAS, 16 Jun 82) .....	129
Lack of Response To Call for Arab Summit Noted (Editorial; AL-ANBA', 20 Jun 82) .....	131

Paper Criticizes Arab 'Impotence' Before Israel (Editorial; AL-WATAN, 8 Jun 82) .....	132
Premier Discusses Gulf War, Other Issues (Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah Interview; AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM, 10 Jun 82) .....	133
Interview With Soviet Ambassador on Various Issues (Nikolay Sikachev Interview; AL-ANBA', 17 Jun 82) .....	135
Bill Seeks Reduction of Expatriate Percentage (ARAB TIMES, 19 Jun 82) .....	137
Finance Minister Discusses Budget Proposals (ARAB TIMES, 16 Jun 82) .....	139

#### LEBANON

Al-Jumayyil Statement After Meeting al-As'ad (Voice of Lebanon, 18 Jun 82) .....	142
Mufti Calls to Arab, Islamic Leaders for Assistance (Beirut Domestic Service, 19 Jun 82) .....	143
Amal Spokesman on Iranian Role in Lebanon (IRNA, 19 Jun 82) .....	144
Phalange Official Comments on Lebanese Forces, Presidential Elections (Karim Paqradi Interview; AL-HAWADITH, 30 Apr 82) .....	145

#### MOROCCO

Briefs Financial Protocol Signed	149
-------------------------------------	-----

#### SYRIA

Damascus Paper Assails Country's Arab Enemies (TISHRIN, 14 Jun 82) .....	150
Press Discusses Firm Stand Against Aggression (Damascus Domestic Service, 18 Jun 82) .....	153
Al-Sa'iqah Issues Statement on Lebanon (Damascus Domestic Service, 19 Jun 82) .....	154
Briefs Syrian Stand on Lebanon	155
Resistance on Borders	155

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

PCI AIDE VISITS ARAB LEAGUE--Tunis--[PCI Directorate member] Gian Carlo Pajetta, who is spending a few days in Tunis for meetings with the Tunisian Communist Party and leaders of other political forces, has visited the offices of the Arab League, which has its headquarters here, to express the Italian Communists' full solidarity with Lebanon, which is under attack, and with the Palestinian people. In the absence of the secretary general, who left for Beirut yesterday, Pajetta had a lengthy conversation with deputy secretary general of the league Adname Omran, who thanked the Italian Communists for their action in favor of the Arab cause and briefed him on the latest developments in the conflict. Earlier the same morning Gian Carlo Pajetta met with Tunisian Foreign Minister Caid es-Sebsi and later with Information Minister Belkhojda, with whom he discussed the same topics and relations between Italy and Tunisia. The meetings were attended by Nadia Spano, of the PCI foreign section. [Text] [PM110913 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 9 Jun 82 p 2]

CSO: 4500/203

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### ISSUES OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL STRUGGLE IN WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP

Beirut SHU'UN FALASTINIYAH in Arabic No 119 Oct 81 pp 22-51

[Article by George Nasif: "A Symposium: Issues of the National Struggle on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip"]

[Text] Participants: \* Majid Abu Sharar, Abu 'Ali Mustafa, Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, Muhammad Khalifah and 'Arabi 'Awwad.  
Moderator: Bilal al-Hasan.

This symposium was held at the PLO Research Center on the morning of 3 July 1981. The discussion revolved around a working paper that was prepared by SHU'UN FALASTINIYAH. The paper included eight questions about the various issues of "the national struggle on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip." Five of these were discussed during the symposium. Participants in the symposium answered the remaining questions in writing.

Those who participated in the symposium were: Majid Abu Sharar, member of the Central Committee of the Fatah Movement; Abu 'Ali Mustafa, undersecretary general of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP]; Muhammad Khalifah, al-Sa'iqah's representative in the PLO Executive Committee; and 'Arabi 'Awwad, an officer of the Palestine Communist Organization on the West Bank.

We are publishing in this issue the second and final part of the symposium which includes answers to five questions that have to do with trade union activity, military activity, actions on prisoners, actions on settlement and the matter of establishing a unified communist party. The first part of the symposium was published in the previous issue (No 118, September 1981). That part included the dialogue about the situation inside the country in general, about issues of national unity and issues of relations with the Jordanian regime.

#### 4. Trade Union Activity

Bilal al-Hasan: It is evident that trade union activity is undergoing a resurgence

\*

'Abd-al-Rahim Ahmad, secretary general of the Arab Liberation Front excused himself for not participating in the symposium because he was not going to be in Beirut. By press time we had not received the answers of Brother Muhammad Khalifah to the last three questions.

in the occupied areas. What do you think are the reasons for that? What effects will this resurgence have on political activity against the occupation?

Abu 'Ali Mustafa: There is no doubt that everybody agrees with the first part of the question about the role of trade union activity in the occupied land and the resurgence it is undergoing.

It is normal that the evolution of trade union activity be linked with the development that took place as the Palestinian working class consolidated its position in the occupied land, especially after the fact that in previous years people had been abandoning the land to go to work in industrial institutions and establishments.

This is one of the reasons for the evolution that took place in trade union activity. The other reason is the relative liberal democracy which the enemy makes available in the field of trade union activity. This provided an opportunity whereby trade union activity was launched to mobilize the masses. This gave the union inside the country an important role in the struggle, and it made the union the means whereby the energies of broad sectors of the public inside the occupied land can be mobilized. Along with that it was important that the leadership role of the unions be supported and that the unions be expanded so they can accommodate more working class people. I stress the matter of expanding the unions' frameworks for accommodating the working class. This is being stressed especially in the light of real problems from which unions in the occupied land have suffered. This has to do in particular with closing the coordination process in some unions at some limits because of narrow, subjective class considerations. However, what is more serious than that is the fact that six unions in the Gaza Strip have continued to be locked in the old formula. These unions are led by (Darabiyah) who is recognized abroad as the representative of these unions, even while he advocated joining the Histadrut. What is happening is that these unions are being fenced in and shut down as though they were the private property of one of the Palestinian bourgeoisie in the Gaza Strip. This matter is more serious than that of the controversy which is brewing between the national forces on the matter of opening the doors of membership in the union and accepting other members in the unions.

In addition, a common effort must be made to standardize the laws. There are some old laws that stand in the way, and some attempts are being made by the enemy to impose new laws that would diminish the effectiveness of these unions or associations. Efforts must be made so that existing relations between all national forces can be improved so as to allow serious consideration to be given to the matter of standardizing the various union laws.

It is natural for the matter of opening membership doors to coincide with that of opening up elections in these unions. This means that, instead of closing the leadership positions around those who have held these positions for years and have been restricting [all] forms of trade union activity, new blood must be pumped into these leadership positions.

If we can achieve progress in this regard, we would then take a step forward and form committees in the General Federation. These committees would be responsible for the people who work in the organizations and factories that have existed since

1948. The committees would spare our workers the real pressures that are applied to them to make them join the Histadrut, especially in the area of Jerusalem where the enemy does not enforce the guidelines and laws that are enforced in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

And here we can present a remarkable example of obviating all the pressures of occupation. It is manifested in the national and trade union role played by the union of the power company's workers and employees. Not only did this union play a trade union role in the purely professional sense of the term, but it also played a political role that had to do with the matter of seizing the company and attempting to enclose it and inundate it with loans. This example which was offered by the workers and employees of the Jerusalem Power Company must become a model for our other trade union organizations among all the sectors of our people in the occupied land. We can then rise to the level that represents the case which was referred to as one of resurgence.

'Arabi 'Awad: Among the notable phenomena in the occupied land is the expansion and evolution of the trade union struggle, especially and primarily the struggle of labor unions. This is basically due of course to the fact that the ranks of the working class have grown because the occupation is using the occupied land in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a cheap labor market. Hence, large numbers of workers are employed in Israeli institutions. Basically, a segment of this population that is not inconsiderable consists of farmers, craftsmen or the petty bourgeoisie in the cities.

This is also due to the deterioration of living conditions for the working class, which includes workers who are employed in Arab institutions and those who are employed in Israeli projects. The former workers suffer from the very high rise in the standard of living [sic], whereas the latter are subjected to various forms of exploitation. They are discriminated against as far as wages are concerned; they are discriminated against in work hours; and they are deprived of all benefits recognized in labor laws, such as old age benefits, benefits for injuries received on the job, annual leaves and other such benefits. Although over 33 percent of these workers' salaries is deducted for those services, this money is deposited in the military government fund, and workers derive no benefits from it.

It was these material conditions of workers that set off the trade union movement and increased its size and numbers. The trade union movement is no longer confined to those unions that existed in the past. Numerous unions in Jerusalem, in Hebron and in other cities have been revived. Also the number of union members has grown. Unions have embarked on remarkable political battles, and they fought battles over demands. However, unions are facing problems, especially with regard to the range of their activities in Israeli institutions.

Under the pretext of security considerations the occupation forbids existing unions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip from engaging in any union activity to defend the rights of workers who are employed in Israeli institutions. This is a serious obstacle, but efforts are underway to overcome it.

Arab institutions, however, suffer from a problem that stems from the attitude the owners of these institutions have. They thwart union activity under the pretext that unions ought to work to strengthen Arab institutions and to ensure that they



withstand the measures of the occupation whose aim is to harass and beleaguer these institutions. Consequently, the owners of these institutions try to throw the economic burdens of the occupation policy on the shoulders of workers. A notable example of this is what happened with the workers of the Jerusalem Power Company. It is true that the workers' national posture is clear, as [my] Brother Abu 'Ali indicated, but the workers did strike against the company to call for the realization of a set of union demands also. Unfortunately, the attitude toward the union and toward the strike was negative. The pretext for that was that the company was a national company and the workers, in asking for a wage increase and improvement of their conditions, were only dealing a blow to the company. Ultimately, however, the owners of the organization had to give in to the workers' demands. The fact is that owners of Arab organizations have to find a medium in which they can communicate with labor unions so they can actually guarantee that these organizations will hold out and will survive. At the same time they are to provide a suitable life for the workers to counter the exorbitant rise in prices which people in the occupied land are suffering from.

Unions carry out a concrete portion of the national struggle against the occupation in a variety of ways. Labor unions play a prominent part in the National Front and in the National Guidance Committee. There is a representative of the Federation of Unions in each of them. This role emerged even in the municipal elections in 1976 when the Federation of Unions nominated its representatives to a number of municipal councils and they won in the elections. Therefore, as a result of this national role that the labor unions are playing against the occupation, they've been subjected to a series of repressive measures. Many labor union [leaders] have been imprisoned, and many have also been banished. Some union leaders are now under house arrest. In addition, a law was enacted last year amending Article 83 of the Labor Law [and allowing] the military government to interfere in [union] elections and delete the names of candidates that do not meet with its approval for security considerations. Accordingly, the military government wants to divest the trade union movement of the national forces that are fighting against the occupation. Unions have to confront this measure, and they have to reject it.

Speaking of union activity, professional associations have their own special role in the struggle. That role too stems from the difficult conditions to which professionals-- physicians, engineers, attorneys and others--have been subjected; these conditions force many of these professionals to emigrate. This role also emerges in the coalition of professional associations. It was no coincidence that the National Guidance Committee grew out of a conference that was held in the Professional Associations Forum Building in Jerusalem. Nor was it a coincidence that the secretary of the Professional Associations Forum was at the same time the secretary of the National Guidance Committee. In this regard we must talk about the role of other sectors, such as those of students and university boards. These bodies play a prominent role [too] in both the area of professional associations and in the national area. We must also reflect on the conditions of teachers who are facing a ban on establishment of a union. All this reveals the fact that the occupation is thwarting union activity, especially if this activity is in opposition to it. For example, the occupation is permitting the establishment of labor unions under the pretext that these unions existed when the West Bank was under the administration of Jordan. But the occupation is preventing the establishment of a teachers' union under the pretext that the government in Jordan does not

allow teachers to form a union. This situation weighs heavily on teachers and keeps them in circumstances that are extremely difficult. This forced them some months ago, as you know, to declare a general strike for 1 month. They are asking for [permission to] establish a union, and they are asking for an increase in salaries, but the occupation has absolutely rejected their demands.

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: I do not wish to dwell on the points which my colleagues who spoke before me touched upon. But I believe that the task of organizing 150,000 Palestinian workers who make up the Palestinian working class in the occupied areas is the greatest and the most notable task of the union's struggle inside the occupied areas. Almost 20 percent of these workers are industrial workers.

To carry out this task it is evident that in past years the ranks of unions have grown. The role unions play in defending the interests of workers, especially those who are employed in Arab projects, has advanced. Their role in the national struggle has also grown. However, taking in the new development that took place within the ranks of the Palestinian working class requires in our judgment a series of more urgent tasks.

Chief among these tasks is the tireless effort of forming new unions, either by reviving old unions or by establishing [new] branches for existing unions. Using Jordanian law as an excuse, the occupation is prohibiting the formation of unions that did not exist before the occupation. This process is going on now, but it must be developed further towards expanding the frameworks of present unions and reviving old ones.

The second task is that of defending the interests of workers who are employed in Israeli projects. Half the workers, if not more, are still employed in Israeli projects. However, despite Israeli law present unions can support the cause of workers in Israeli projects, especially since the persecution they are actually subjected to is twofold and visible: they are subjected to national persecution and oppression, and they are subjected to social persecution and oppression.

The third task is that of unifying the trade union movement in the West Bank and Gaza so that one nation would not have two trade union movements in an area that is subject to one occupation [force]. In this regard I stress the need for reviving the unions of Gaza by putting an end to the situation that existed there in past years. These unions [in Gaza] were nothing but hollow shells headed by bureaucrats. During the past years no actual elections were held in these unions because of the collusion between some of these elements, reactionary elements and the military government in Gaza.

The fourth task is that of defending the interests of workers in Arab projects so that they would not be the only ones bearing the economic burdens of the occupation policy. This question has continued to be controversial, even within the ranks of the Palestine National Movement, with its various trends and forces inside the occupied areas.

In this context this situation requires that the structures of present unions be developed. These unions--or at least some of them--are now lagging behind the reality of the working class. For example, there cannot be a union called the Union of 'Aliyah Organizations which includes all the workers in different professions and positions simply because they happen to be geographically located



in one town. Such a development in the makeup of union organizations is a factor that would be more compelling for more workers to join unions; it would also provide more encouragement for expanding the foundation of unions and having them play their actual role in defending the interests of workers and representing them nationally and economically.

One of the matters that actually ought to be approached with extreme caution is that of the cooperation between the national forces which work within the framework of the unions. These forces adopt the principle of proportional representation among themselves so they can establish their relations on foundations of integration and cooperation, instead of those of competition and strife.

Of course we must talk here about the various popular organizations. The role of the women's movement, for example, has evolved, but what is puzzling is that some sections of the women's movement are still pursuing women's charitable work instead of going into the ever-growing sector of that of Palestinian women working in Arab institutions and Israeli projects to defend and represent female Palestinian workers. In addition, there is the broad sector of homemakers among the broad masses of women.

Regarding the student movement, there are now of course organizations that are recognized in universities and secondary schools. One of the functions of the student movement is to unify these organizations into one central students' association for the student movement that would encompass the universities and the other educational institutions and constitute an extension of the General Alliance of the Students of Palestine in the occupied areas. This is still the responsibility of the student movement which can thus develop its role and consolidate its activities and its struggles in its various locations in the occupied areas.

A significant development regarding teachers and professionals occurred and should be mentioned. The creation of teachers' committees and a public committee representing all teachers, in addition to professional associations, was one of the prominent events that occurred in the context of the people's movement in the past 2 years.

There is also a question that has not been resolved: it is the question of defending the land. Committees would be created and put to work to confront an act of colonizing the land on a particular occasion, but then the activities of these committees would cease. Most certainly land defense committees ought not to be confined to the residents of 'a targeted village. Instead, representatives of various villages in the nation ought to participate in them, as was the case in some instances. This way the land question in a village would turn into a general national question. This way also some sort of permanence and continuity would be maintained in the activities of land defense committees.

To sum up I would like to say that prospects for developing and organizing the activities of the people's movement in the occupied areas exist. The broad masses in the occupied areas are rushing to join popular organizations and other organizations like clubs, volunteer action committees and others in an unlimited manner. With experience the masses have realized that these organizations are their only weapon against the plans of the occupation. Popular organizations were able to realize a few victories against the plans of the occupation in more than one area

or location. This was an important lesson for the people's movement and a principal ingredient in making the people join these organizations. The more these organizations are in tune with the people's willingness and the more they can absorb of the grass roots, the more likely they are to achieve the major and great objective of consolidating the people's movement with its principal foundation and the more likely they will be able to develop that movement's struggle against the occupation and for an independent state.

Muhammad Khalifah: I would like to add two observations. The first is that it is possible to use positive practices within the framework of union activity to build a national front. This can come about, as Brother Yasir and Brother Abu 'Ali indicated, by having all the national factions represented in all union areas. Also these unions must be expanded. The second observation is that we must make an effort to support these unions through the joint Palestinian-Jordanian Committee. Funds necessary for the activities of these unions must be allocated. This would mean that an effort is to be made to build a framework for the foundation of national unity. If we rarely disagree in leadership circles, let us work a little to consolidate the bases. By pursuing such a course we will have contributed to the effort to promote the National Front because we will have prepared a strong foundation for it.

Majid Abu Sharar: I wish I could see trade union activity in the occupied land in the encouraging and radiant light which my colleagues, especially Brother Yasin, have talked about. Brother Yasir is asking that we spend all our efforts to stay in step with the developments that are taking place in the trade union and labor union movement in the occupied land.

Quite honestly I cannot see this positive picture. There are several reasons for this.

First, the number of our industrial and agricultural workers and craftsmen in the occupied land is 251,000, whereas the total number of union members is only 20,000. This is the equivalent of almost 10 percent. In my opinion this is logical and normal. But we must state for the record that unions represent only 10 percent of Palestinian labor in the occupied land because the statements that we heard tend to suggest that they represent 80 or 90 percent of labor. I said that this was normal. Why is that? First, because the industrial sector in the occupied land is deteriorating and is being subjected to severe competition. It is also almost destitute, and this affects labor and affects the capabilities and the activities of labor unions.

The agricultural sector likewise is a sector that is being fought; it is a weak sector and its production is poor. This too affects labor; it is forcing many farm workers to turn to employment in the land that was occupied in 1948. This keeps them from joining agricultural and industrial unions. Another reason that may be added is the fact that our workers can emigrate. We should know that the number of people who emigrated from the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the Israeli occupation exceeds 450,000 Palestinians. The majority of these people have been workers, professionals and academicians. Last year alone 20,000 workers and technicians emigrated from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

There is also a third reason: existing disputes between national factions have very negative effects on trade union activity.

Another point that must be referred to is this: we now have closed unions in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but not only in the Gaza Strip. These unions are closed in the sense that elections are deferred and the processing of people's membership applications is delayed. This is because those who control the membership process do so with a mentality of maintaining their control over this or the other union, and this undermines Palestinian trade union activity.

A fourth reason may be added: it is the intervention of the military government in trade union laws. The latest example of such intervention was the amendment of Article 83 of the Labor Union Federation Law which stipulates that the names of candidates in union elections be presented to the military governor for his approval. This caused unions to hesitate about holding conventions and elections so they would not have to present names to the military governor. This is one of the points of controversy between our colleagues in the PFLP, our colleagues in the DFLP and our fellow communists. All these are the reasons that lead us to say--and we are relying on scientific facts--that the status of trade unions in the occupied land is weak and deteriorating; it is not resurgent and developing. However, this does not deny for one instant the remarkable role that all trade unions are playing in the occupied land, especially the General Federation of Labor Unions on the West Bank. The General Federation comprises 19 unions. In addition, engineers' associations, physicians' associations and other associations play a very basic role.

We must consider these issues because our purpose in this symposium is to lay one brick in the process of rebuilding the situation in the occupied land.

Bilal al-Hasan: Brother Majid, you referred to closed unions. Who closed these unions?

Majid Abu Sharar: Everyone who was able to get to these unions and achieve a position of control there. This is a dangerous phenomenon that must be opposed.

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: It seems that Brother Majid did not listen very carefully to my remarks. Therefore, he was not responding to the questions that I raised. I affirmed the sound forms of labor and trade union activity. I said that there was development over the past years because even the 20,000 workers represent an advanced figure if that figure is compared to the situation that existed early in the seventies when members of trade unions were only a few hundred. In the best of cases these unions were no more than mere professional gatherings.

Majid Abu Sharar: And they still are.

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: No. Conditions indicate otherwise. New unions were created when a large number of past unions was revived. This process is going on continuously on a broad scale. The bylaws of a number of unions were amended and changed so that large sectors of workers could join a union. In the past membership requirements in some unions were stricter than those of political organizations. The makeup of some unions was changed when several branches of these unions were formed, especially in villages which are no longer villages in the traditional sense. Instead, these villages have become centers where hundreds of workers can be found. These workers commute daily to work on Israeli projects. A change has taken place, but I did not so much note this change as much as I did the tasks

that have to be done under the present situation so that existing unions can actually take in the large number of Palestinian workers in the occupied areas. I've said here specifically that changing the structure of existing unions, that is, solving the problem of unions that closed their doors to workers to ensure that a bureaucratic group maintains control over the union's leadership--as was the case in Gaza, for example--and paying attention to the problems of workers who have been working in the occupied areas since 1948 [are necessary] because the problems of this sector have been dealt with separately instead of collectively. I spoke about defending the interests of workers in Arab projects along the same lines that a number of colleagues spoke about since workers should not be the only ones to bear the burden of the occupation and its economic policy.

The fact that these matters are mentioned does not mean that they have been accomplished. It rather means that they are considered tasks for the struggle, tasks for action. We need a trade union movement that can stay in step with the change that took place in the makeup of the working class, in its clout, in the forms in which it has established itself and in the increased number of industrial workers in its ranks. The fact that industrial workers make up 20 percent of the working class is not a small ratio. This is the problem. Most certainly there are subjective problems, and we are all in agreement regarding these problems, including those that have to do with relations between the national forces inside the country and the effects of these relations on expanding the ranks of these unions or on relations that unions have with the federation of labor abroad.

These matters must be solved in the context of the struggle, but the central problem is that of developing the trade union movement to make it congruent with the change that is taking place in the conditions of the working class. This process is proceeding in this direction, and our task is to find out where the central part of that process lies so that all the parts can be completed. This is it. The fact that there are differences and struggles; the fact that there are problems in this or the other union; and the fact that there are problems in relations between unions inside the country and unions abroad are all problems that exist and must be dealt with. However, they do not constitute the principal problem.

'Arabi 'Awwad: When we talk about activities and changes in the trade union movement, that does not mean that the movement now holds in its ranks the vast majority of workers, especially since a number of them that is not inconsiderable--over 80,000--are working on Israeli projects. So far, this task is still one that labor unions have ahead of them so they can contribute their activities in the midst of these workers. In the past year there has actually been a concrete change in workers' ranks. But if we were to compare the status of the trade union movement in 1967 and its condition today, we would actually find a very large difference. First, there was no trade union federation in the first place, and the number of unions was small. What happened is that old unions were preserved, and then a special federation for them was formed. This federation separated itself from the federation of unions in Jordan despite pressures on it to keep its ties with Jordan and despite pressures from the Histadrut to tie Arab workers to that organization.

Let us consider figures so we can see this change. The Union of Organizational Workers in Ramallah, for example, had 250 workers in 1973 and 1974. Today, it has 1,700 workers. In 1974 the board of the federation of all unions had about 50

members. Now, [the number of people on that board] is 118, and the number of unions who are members of the federation was first 9 or 10, but that number now is 27. This is one of the problems about which Jordan is now trying to apply pressure because application of the merger law that took place in Amman is now being sought in the occupied areas. In Jordan the number of unions was decreased so that the government can control them. Therefore, the number of unions that are now members of the federation of labor unions in Jordan is less than 20.

Thus, there has been a change in recent years. This is a material fact, and we must take note of it.

On the other hand reference was made to one question from a negative perspective. This is the question of competition between national forces. I want to say here quite candidly that competition was a principal factor in stimulating the national forces. This is a positive aspect [of that question] which we must not overlook. It is true that competition has a negative aspect also. We must put an end to the disputes that occurred, and we must affirm the interest [we have] in the unity of the trade union movement on the West Bank and the cooperation of all the national forces inside the country in the context of a national unity that relies on the principle of proportional representation. I do not wish to repeat what has been said about the problem that Gaza is experiencing because the union [there] is headed by someone who is unacceptable. Not only does he engage in bureaucratic red tape, but he is also an intruder among workers because he is originally an employer.

There is actually the question that our colleagues talked about. It deals with the relationship between the trade union movement inside the country and the trade union movement abroad. This relationship involves labor unions, the student movement and the teachers' movement. So far this relationship is going through its weakest conditions. What is required? What is required is that action be actually undertaken to strengthen trade union movements inside the country by regulating their relations with the movement abroad. This could be done by coordinating efforts with the General Federation of Palestinian Workers in its capacity as the only representative of the workers. We ought to be concerned about this matter politically. That is, popular Palestinian organizations must also have the capacity to represent organizations in the occupied land. However, there has to be coordination. For example, delegations from the international trade union movement are to come to the occupied land. This is what happened recently, and this gives us support. A delegation from C.G.T. came to the occupied land, and so did a delegation from U.S. unions. This provoked occupation authorities, so they thwarted and impeded such activities. Delegations from unions inside the country can also be organized, for example, to travel abroad in search of support. The same applies to teachers. So far, relations [between unions inside the country and unions abroad] are still very weak.

Majid Abu Sharar: I have a final observation to make so that the outcome of the discussion would not appear to be that of a discussion between two disparate points of view. I believe that there is agreement or a common denominator between these two points of view. The substance of that agreement is that a change of a certain magnitude has taken place, but that there are still shortcomings which we must fight to overcome. Matters like exclusive control of some unions or closed memberships in some unions, holding union conventions, electing new leaders,

saving the unions that are controlled by the employers themselves and the matter of relations between unions inside the country and unions abroad are all matters that we must discuss openly.

But the fact that unions should be frameworks wherein all energies are mobilized is an aspiration that we have not yet achieved. Even unions that exist now abroad do not have all the manpower employed in any profession. In Jordan, for example, there are 16 unions that have 80,000 workers. Among those workers 46,000 are drivers and mechanics.

## 5. Military Activity

Bilal al-Hasan: We notice that many organizations are not involved in military activity that stems from inside the country. We also notice that some organizations are preoccupied with political activity at the expense of military activity. We also notice with a considerable sense of the positive that some guerilla cells are forming themselves and are using their own resources to obtain weapons. Then they attach themselves to one organization or another according to their convictions. Doesn't this mean that there is a general weakness in the ability of guerilla organizations to develop their military activity? Also don't you notice that the methods of military activity inside the country are suffering from a weakness in originality and diversity?

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: To avoid repeating the usual statements about developing the armed struggle in the occupied areas, considering it the principal source of the struggle there and the need to direct all energies, efforts and capabilities in that direction, I would like to refer to a significant development in the situation in the occupied areas and to its relationship with the armed struggle. The armed struggle in the occupied areas has begun to turn into a popular phenomenon. I am saying it has begun to change, but it has not yet changed completely. Actions that are taking place in the occupied areas, some appreciation for which is implied by the question, are creating prospects for a shift in the quality of military action: from action that is an individual effort to one that is adopted by the people and in which the broad masses participate. This is the real outlet for armed activity in the occupied areas. Despite all the difficulties and obstacles, it does not mean that changing the present forms of the armed struggle is not possible under the present situation. But this change requires superior and more advanced organizational forms than those that were used in the past by Resistance factions.

It is neither normal nor acceptable that each military operation entail the arrest of not only the perpetrator or perpetrators of that operation, but that it also entail the arrest of all those who have any relationship with them.

In this regard there was a major flaw in the forms and techniques of military activity, in the precision and regularity of that activity and in giving that activity principal attention so that no successful military action would lead to a setback in the mood of the public.

Abu 'Ali Mustafa: If we were to consider the tabulated figures which indicate the magnitude of military operations in the occupied land in the first 3 years, and if we were to compare these figures with those in the table indicating these



operations in the last 5 years, we would find that there was a drop in the magnitude of military operations. However, that by itself does not constitute a standard for measuring the development of military action that would be commensurate with the standard of the political gains realized by the Palestinian Revolution on both the Arab and world scenes. If the matter were carefully scrutinized, we would have to refer in this regard to the importance of the objective factor in influencing the extent of military effectiveness. This factor is manifested in more than one effective cause.

The first cause is that the setback of the Resistance in Jordan had a major effect on the level of military activities, whether these were direct combat confrontations with the forces of the Zionist enemy or they involved activities supporting the units, cells and organizations in the occupied land by means of the long geographical arm [of the Resistance] which was available to the forces of the Palestinian Revolution.

Another cause is due to the fact that we in the Palestinian Revolution have been engaged for 6 years in a battle to defend the Revolution in Lebanon. This is not to minimize the value of this task because defending the Palestinian Revolution and its survival is also a strategic task that is indispensable to us.

In addition to all this the obstacles that impede the possibility of having access to the occupied land have become known despite the fact that the Palestinian Revolution devised certain modes of action at a certain period of time and despite the fact that suicidal actions that have a political implication were carried out.

However, we must take note of the reference Brother Yasir made to the fact that military action was turning into a popular activity. In return for upgrading the method, the intensity and the thrust of the military confrontations in the Gaza Strip, for example, we notice that this military and political thrust lacked the depth that was referred to. This means that it was turning into a situation that involved all the people. At some point in time, for example, we in the PFLP evaluated our military role. Even at our recent convention we considered the military report that was submitted, thinking that we had had a successful experience in the Gaza Strip and in the hills of Hebron. The evaluation of the military standard was high, but it lacked organizational depth, in the sense of setting up an organizational structure around it that would serve as a prop, support its survival and create a popular base around [the military organization] so it would not be isolated or so that people's role in it would not be confined to that of spectators.

In the recent period, the condition of the public in the occupied land was undergoing an upset. That is, while military activity was in the forefront of events, the condition of the public in the occupied land was undergoing ups and downs.

But what is happening now is almost the opposite. The popular tide now exceeds military effectiveness which still falls short of the popular tide. Therefore, so that matters can become orderly on a regular basis, a balance must be effected between the people's political activity and an appropriate military effectiveness. This is because military effectiveness plays a role in the process of mobilizing the people, planning [activities] and making the people rally around the revolution.

In the absence of a popular tide of support, military activity, no matter how first-rate its methods are turns its political results into an open and a continuing battle with the enemy. Military activity becomes an adventurous action that leads to the consequences that have been referred to. That is, military action undertaken by an organization of people is followed by a broad campaign of arrests, and scores of staff people and members are thrown in jails.

There is no doubt that the standard of the organizational structure for organizations is better now than it was in the past, but this must be balanced in return with a popular political effectiveness.

Majid Abu Sharar: I agree with Brother Abu 'Ali Mustafa that it is noticeable that military activity is no longer in step with political activity. I also agree with some of the observations that were made in the working paper, especially regarding the fact that some Palestinian organizations are not involved in military activity in the occupied land. Actually, there are Palestinian organizations that have been known for many years, and the pursuit of political and military activity in the occupied land is not one of their concerns.

The fact that some political organizations are preoccupied with political activities--or let me say propaganda activity--at the expense of military activities has been a weakness of these organizations ever since the Palestinian armed struggle was launched. There is no doubt that our experience has grown in the area of activities undertaken in the occupied land, especially military activities, but in return the enemy's experience also grew, and [the Israelis] developed more methods for resisting the covert military activity of the Palestinian Resistance.

There are two kinds of military activity in the occupied land: military activity that is carried out openly--a patrol would go up into the mountain and the people of the area would know about it; and covert military activity. In addition to hurting the enemy, military activity that is carried out openly plays a role in the daily political mobilization of the masses. The other aspect of military activity, covert activity, is carried out by secret cells of people who lead normal and ordinary lives in the occupied land. The enemy has very active intelligence agencies to follow the tracks of any group that carries out any operation against it and to arrest that group. This is an open battle on both sides. Another point that we must refer to is that our covert military industry has been developed; that is, we manufacture explosives and we set up materials for explosions.

Military activity is one of the means most often used to mobilize the energies of the masses. Therefore, we must turn to this point in particular: if in the area of unified action we were able to realize several accomplishments on numerous grounds, in the area of military activity in the occupied land we are still lacking a unified military action. I know that this is due to the security problem. However, the security problem should not prevent the factions of the Resistance who have a serious interest in military activity in the occupied land from establishing a joint office for operations inside the country to undertake the following tasks: first, it is to collect information; second, it is to define targets; third, it is to select the weapons that are suitable for operations; fourth, [it is to oversee] training; fifth, it is to manufacture explosives and other kinds of weapons and provide training in these areas; and sixth, it is to



coordinate the exchange of experience inside the country according to required security conditions.

I believe that if we were able to set up such an office, we would be able to offer the fighters who carry out covert military activity inside the country an actual service.

'Arabi 'Awwad: The need to utilize the political, popular and military forms of struggle has become evident in the experience we've had in past years in resisting the occupation in the occupied land. All these efforts are part of the greater effort which is devoted to getting the occupation out of the country and winning the right of our people to return to their land, determine their destiny and establish an independent Palestinian state. Therefore, none of these forms of struggle can be an alternative to the other or inconsistent with it. Indeed, they are all interrelated, and they all complement each other. The high level of the political and popular struggle is creating a climate that is suitable for military activity. Also armed resistance operations kindle the enthusiasm of the masses and help advance the tide of the political and popular struggle.

But it's been noticed, as some of the participants in this symposium have indicated, that in recent years the level of the political and popular struggle has been outstripping that of the military struggle. There are several reasons for this. Among them are the major difficulties that armed action faces to ensure that arms are available and that they are well used. In addition, there are the oppressive measures of the occupiers; these are assuming a more violent and a more vehement character against armed activity.

But there is another reason that has to do with the modes of organization. The high level of political and popular struggle coincided with the expansion and development of political and popular organizations and the growth of their activity, their effectiveness and their role in mobilizing and amassing the combat capabilities of our masses and driving them into the confrontation battles with the occupiers. In the meantime there were shortcomings and rifts in the organizational forms upon which armed activity depends, enabling thereby the occupiers to deal several blows to this armed activity. This matter requires that more precise and more covert forms of organization be utilized.

There is no doubt that the increased ferocity of the occupiers' measures, especially in the area of colonizing, plundering and Judaizing the land and intensifying economic plunder and the means of repression, is giving our people incentives to respond with violence. This sets the stage in the area for an expansion of the armed struggle and for upgrading the standard of that struggle if a rigorous and a tight organization is relied upon in that struggle.

#### 6. Care for Prisoners

Bilal al-Hasan: It's been noted that the question of prisoners has not yet become a central issue. Each organization takes care of its own prisoners.

It's been observed that some prisoners have complained that communications with them while they are in prison were sparse and that in most cases only their families communicated with them. It has also been noticed that our efforts to

raise the question of prisoners on the international scene have been weak and that THE SUNDAY TIMES' report, for example, served the question of the prisoners much more than our efforts did.

What are your observations on this matter, and what are your suggestions to ensure better care?

Majid Abu Sharar: Imprisonment, incarceration and detention are among the daily methods the enemy resorts to to fight back our people's resistance of the occupation. The number of those who entered the prisons of the occupation since 1967 is at least 200,000. Those who are now incarcerated and detained are about 5,000.

There is no doubt that prisoners suffer [the torment] of incarceration which is resolved only when they are released from prison, but this does not mean that we do not strive to alleviate the harshness of imprisonment. Although this problem is as old as the occupation, many public opinion sectors in the Arab world and throughout the world are still unaware of much of what our prisoners suffer. This may be an opportunity to talk in some detail about this suffering.

If we were to go back to the well-known report that was published by the newspaper HA'ARETZ in 1979, we would find that Palestinian prisoners live under the harshest conditions in the areas of housing, food, health, education, recreation, al-fawrah or daily exercise and visits.

1. Housing: Palestinian prisoners sleep on the floor. Four blankets are issued to each prisoner, and an [additional] blanket and a small pillow are added in the winter. After the first 'Asqalan riot in 1977 which lasted 85 days, bedding was issued to the prisoners.

The room where from 20 to 30 people sleep is 16 square meters; [that is], 4 meters by 4 meters [or] 2.5 tiles per prisoner. The water closet is inside the room which has a metal door with a lock. The room [also] has two windows which are covered with metal from the outside. There are iron bars on the windows and these are covered from the inside with intertwined iron. By comparison, Jewish prisoners [are housed] six to a room, and they sleep on beds with mattresses and blankets.

2. Food: The kind of food established in the menu has enough calories, but in actual practice quantities are reduced because of theft in the administration. Several thefts have been apprehended in the prisons of Gaza, 'Asqalan, Hebron and Nablus. The quality of the food is poor and the varieties are the cheapest. Prisoners often don't know what they are eating. Jewish prisoners, however, eat good food. They eat in a mess hall; food is served on a tray; and they sit at a table. Palestinian prisoners eat in their rooms; the food is brought in casseroles and given to them in plastic bowls.

3. Health: Each prison has an infirmary. A physician comes to prison twice a week; sometimes he comes once; and sometimes he does not come. There is discrimination in treatment. Those who are considered troublemakers by the administration are denied proper or adequate treatment. This has produced many cases of chronic diseases, and many prisoners have died. The number of people who died in prison is 78. The most significant chronic diseases [found in prisons] are ulcers,

hemorrhoids, dental diseases, eye diseases and rheumatism. Surgical procedures are performed by turn. If one day surgery was decided upon, it would be performed years later. Prison administrators also use the prison infirmary to enlist prisoners to work for them. In the eyes of prisoners the infirmary has become a suspect place, and many prisoners put up with their illnesses and do not go to the infirmary.

4. Education: Prison administrators now allow prisoners to bring books into prison. This was seized as a right during the riots and uprisings. According to one of the prisoners, "The cost of each book is several kilos of blood." A book would first be reviewed by the censor whose principal function is to prevent integration in the process of building the imprisoned fighter's education and thought. [The purpose of this action] is to make this educational process burdensome for prisoners so it would have negative effects on the unity of the national rank inside the prisons. This implies that a devout person would become narrow-minded; a leftist would resort to childish practices, and this would create the strife that would break up the unity of the fighters. This was what happened at 'Asqalan prison, for example. However, those who were responsible for the prisoners and the individual efforts of prisoners who were more aware, who had more education and who had long experience caused the enemy to miss this opportunity. They made everybody understand the conditions and the substance of the phase of national liberation [they were going through]. It was this that created strong unity inside the prisons.

Books are purchased through the International Red Cross. The prison administration allowed classes to be offered inside prisons to teach languages and scientific subjects. Then they banned those classes, especially classes in the Hebrew language. However, the classes continued secretly in the rooms. In Jewish prisons [by comparison], there is an educational officer in every prison who is supposed to provide any book that a prisoner requests. Jewish prisoners are provided with all the newspapers, but our prisoners are furnished only one newspaper: AL-ANBA', the newspaper of Israeli intelligence.

5. Recreation: There are no means for recreation. Radio, television and movies are prohibited. For Jewish prisoners these are not prohibited. Palestinian prisoners are not allowed to practice any kind of sports activity, but Jewish prisoners do engage in sports, and they have special clothing [to wear] for their athletic events. Jewish prisoners have the right to own clothes, but our prisoners have two prison outfits for the summer and two for the winter. They have two sets of underwear for the whole year that must be blue in color.

6. Al-Fawrah or The Daily Exercise: For Palestinians who are confined in the public prison, the daily exercise is 2 hours and is taken at different times. In solitary it is 1 hour for each person by himself. A Palestinian who is locked up in a cell is not allowed to leave his cell, whereas the door of the Jewish prisoner's cell remains unlocked from 6 a.m. to 8:30 p.m.

7. Visits: Palestinian prisoners are allowed to have one visit per month, and only three of a prisoner's relatives are allowed to visit him for only half an hour. An iron chain link fence through which one cannot put one's finger separates a prisoner from his visitors so that a prisoner cannot even kiss his small child. The visit takes place in the presence of guards, and people undergo inspection

before and after the visit. The actual duration of the visit is 20 minutes. Jewish prisoners, however, receive two visits a month in addition to private visits.

In light of these facts and relying on the opinions of some brothers who were imprisoned and then released, and also relying on reports from prisons, I propose the following:

- A. We are to concentrate on publicizing these facts in an intense and continuous manner throughout the world.
- B. We are to try to get numerous international committees, in addition to the Red Cross, to visit the prisons and look into the condition of prisoners.
- C. The Executive Committee of the PLO is to allocate sufficient funds to cover the needs of prisoners through the International Red Cross or through the families of the detainees.
- D. Appropriations for the families of those who are in prison are to be increased. Those families spend a lot of money at every monthly visit. We are to take into account the fact that the vast majority of the prisoners' families are poor families.
- E. A Palestinian prisoner week is to be publicized on the broadest scale throughout the world.
- F. Care should be taken so that members of PLO delegations include brothers who were prisoners and who have been released.
- G. A unified mobilization program for prisoners is to be applied to establish national unity firmly inside prisons.

And here I must refer to the fact that the Palestinian Committee for Prisoners and Detainees is not the only one responsible for this task and that political, information, and social action agencies in the organization are also responsible.

Abu 'Ali Mustafa: The question of the prisoners of the Palestinian Revolution in the detention camps of Neo-Nazism must remain a central question for the revolution's command because of what those thousands of our people represent as advanced symbols of the struggle and sacrifice our people offer every day.

Because of the importance of this large number [of prisoners] who received their training in the best schools of struggle--prisons--and because of the role they are expected to play after their release in supporting the course of the revolution and developing and advancing its methods and standard of struggle, increased effort must be devoted to their current condition so they can be protected and the continued relationship with them regulated.

Today, in the collective prisons and detention camps superior modes of steadfastness and challenge are being developed, and fighters are gaining knowledge supported by the private and public experience of their other colleagues. This is helping, and it has actually helped, create numerous means and methods of struggle against the occupation.

Despite its importance and centrality, the attention that is given to the prisoners' issue by the leaders of the PLO falls short of what is required. So far, the predominant feature in this matter is the interest each organization has in its members who are imprisoned and detained. At the same time many fighters who do not belong to organizations are being arrested. These people face real difficulties, most importantly social and living difficulties that are the result of a brief or a lengthy incarceration. In most cases some of these difficulties are solved partially, with no organization being enthusiastic about assuming responsibility for solving them. This situation requires that a collective organization be made available to solve all the problems for all prisoners and detainees.

The change we have been fighting for has come about recently, and an organization that would protect the families of martyrs and prisoners has been charged with assuming this responsibility and meeting this need. However, it has not yet risen to the level of fully meeting its national responsibilities. It has not yet become an institution for all the fighters, and it has not abandoned the policy of discrimination. This requires that a responsible stance be taken vis a vis this organization so that serious application of standard relations are observed in that regard.

Central interest in the question of prisoners requires that institutions interested in this question be developed and strengthened and that their activities be supported. First, the institution that protects the families of martyrs and detainees and the committees that defend detainees must receive attention. There is a committee for defending detainees abroad; most of its activity is occasional. It does not have a plan that would be carried out under the supervision and direction of the Executive Committee.

Likewise, defense committees in the occupied homeland [do not have a plan, but] there is more than one committee in more than one area. It is essential that these committees be supported in these capabilities and that they be made generally available throughout the areas. Then a unified central committee must be formed to organize the efforts and activities of the various committees and develop their methods.

Our primary responsibility requires us to concentrate on looking after the families and relatives of prisoners and detainees and on ensuring that the revolution maintains a constant relationship with them. This would have a positive effect on furthering the relationship of struggle and improving the morale of fighters in detention camps and prisons. An effort must also be made to develop the radio broadcast that is beamed at the country and especially at detainees and prisoners so as to include practical answers and solutions to what fighters face in prison. Words that are heard on the air, written words and visits by relatives constitute basic reinforcement factors in the steadfastness of fighters.

On the other hand political victories and successful military operations serve objectives that are very valuable to fighters, especially if the target of some of them is the release of all of them or some of them. This would further their faith in their revolution and in the revolution's permanent interest in them.

There is also an important element in the same regard. We think that the attention we give that element is manifested in the political support campaigns and the



propaganda campaigns that mobilize people in all Arab and international fields to keep their cause constantly alive and promote the most humane of these causes. There are examples of people who died under interrogation and torture; people who died as a result of neglect or because they were deliberately denied medical treatment; and people [who endured] prolonged detention without trial, as was the case with 'Ali 'Awad al-Jammal. He has been under administrative arrest since 1975, and his detention was renewed 6 years ago.

Finally, everything that we do will fall short of what our fighters in the enemy's detention camps and prisons have offered and are still offering. Our loyalty to them is the minimum we owe them.

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: It is true that so far we do not have a unified central agency to look after the affairs of prisoners, to defend their cause worldwide, to look after their families and to take part in solving any problems that develop in relations between them in prison. But this does not mean that various organizations and institutions inside and outside the occupied homeland are not playing a role in this or the other area to defend prisoners and support their steadfastness in the manner of the project of the National Committee, which was formed inside the country; or the organization for martyrs' families, which was formed abroad; or the committee to defend detainees. In recent years the cause of detainees and the poor conditions they are suffering from, especially after the glorious riots they went through in prisons, have gained interest world-wide, and that interest is growing continuously. However, keeping track of that interest has continued to fall short of what is required and has been seasonal and confined to a few international symposiums. This is despite the fact that greater capabilities for that are available. The question of prisoners and detainees, most of whom are among the most prominent fighters in the ranks of our people and our revolution, is one wherein most prisoners and detainees see prison as a school that is refining their combat experience and developing the level of their awareness. In our judgment this question requires greater care in the following areas:

First, a world-wide campaign is to be developed to present the prisoners' causes, the conditions of prisons and the condition of the administrative detainees who are subjected to permanent internment under the most arbitrary laws in the world. An effort is to be made to turn Palestinian Prisoners' Day to a day that would be observed world-wide. International committees are to be formed to promote the legal, humanitarian and political aspects [of the cause]. Committees of this kind can include individuals and organizations of various inclinations.

Second, the agency responsible for looking after prisoners' material, social and political affairs abroad is to be consolidated, and its work is to be coordinated with the National Committee inside the country. Standardized systems are to be devised to apply to every prisoner and detainee regardless of his affiliation. These rules would also apply to prisoners who have no affiliations with any factions, since there are some detainees who have no such affiliations.

Third, political guidance for prisoners of various affiliations is to be coordinated. In the past strife and friction developed in prisons as a result of ideological or political differences. This was regrettable. It became evident in some cases that the administration in Zionist prisons was not above prodding a limited number of prisoners--the most backward and the least aware--against their fellow

inmates whose ideas and political positions were progressive. Striking the unity of Palestinian detainees has always been one of the enemy's objectives, since this unity had on numerous occasions turned into a wall of steel against the measures and tyranny of prison authorities. This unity had forced prison authorities to meet some of the detainees' demands and to improve their conditions inside prisons.

Despite these shortcomings the definite majority of Palestinian prisoners have always been a cohesive unit. Harsh prison conditions did not prevent them from engaging in a variety of political and cultural activities. These harsh prison conditions did not prevent a rather large number of them from pursuing their education until the university level. Hardly does a national occasion go by when the prisons do not turn into a tremendous popular demonstration. Prisoners also write bulletins and newsletters; they conduct an intellectual and a cultural dialogue in them; and they circulate them in their midst despite [the isolation of] cells and the fact that distances separate the prisons. Not one single prisoner who was released from prison failed to astound everyone who met him with the advanced level of political and intellectual awareness he achieved in the school of struggle where he had spent many years of his life.

'Arabi 'Awwad: In 14 years of Israeli occupation about 250,000 Palestinians were incarcerated in Israeli prisons. That is a rate of one out of every five West Bank or Gaza Strip residents. More than 4,000 prisoners and detainees are languishing in those prisons on a permanent basis; hundreds of them have been in those prisons for over 10 years. Those prisoners face extremely cruel conditions, and they are subjected to barbaric torture in an attempt to wrench information out of them, terrorize them and destroy their morale. They are packed into crowded cells--22 prisoners are placed in a cell prepared for 10 prisoners--and they live in poor sanitary conditions because of the diseases that have become widespread in their midst, such as anemia, ulcers, hemorrhoids, nervous disorders and other diseases. In addition, there are wounded prisoners whose injuries were ignored. [Some of these prisoners] are threatened with loss of one of their limbs or with total paralysis. As a result of the torture and health neglect, over 60 Palestinian fighters died in prisons. In the (Nafahah) riot of 1980 three fighters died while being force fed, and the female attorney (Langhir) asked for an investigation into the cause of their death.

Our people and their national forces and institutions in the occupied land stood alongside the fighters who are being detained and held in prison. They organized forms of solidarity with them. The week of April 17 to April 25 of each year is now a week of solidarity with Palestinian prisoners. The detainees themselves embarked on forms of struggle inside their prisons to improve the conditions of their imprisonment, to stop attacks on them and to ask for prisoners of war status. On the world scene interest in Palestinian prisoners and detainees grew, and the investigative report that was published by THE SUNDAY TIMES in July 1977--this was later printed in THE WASHINGTON POST--was able to break the wall of silence that had been built around public opinion in Europe regarding the question of Palestinian prisoners. The newspapers brought out facts about the deliberate brutal torture that was taking place against Palestinians. The committee to defend prisoners and detainees engaged in extensive activity to expose Israel's racist practices against detained fighters. By holding conferences and forming a number of committees in the capitals of Europe, this committee was able to create broad interest in the question of prisoners and detainees [and to portray their cause

as a humanitarian and a political question that had to do with the total Palestinian struggle for the just national rights of our people. The committee has always been trying to form an international committee that included certain figures from various countries of the world. It is trying to send medical and legal committees who would look into the conditions of detainees in Israeli prisons, try to alleviate their suffering and work for the release of those who are ill and those who have been in prison for many years under extremely harsh conditions. The institute that protects the families of martyrs and prisoners looks after all detainees and their families, but detainees and prisoners continue to need more earnest care. They need to receive more attention in the media, and they need to receive more support. They need more support for themselves in prisons--through the International Red Cross--and for their families, especially since hundreds of them have had their homes destroyed out of vengeance, and their source of living has been suspended. In addition to revealing their high good spirits, messages sent by detainees to national councils reveal the extent of their suffering because detainees feel that their cause is not getting adequate attention from their leaders and their organization.

## 7. Confronting the Colonization

Bilal al-Hasan: We do not want to talk about the danger and objectives of Israeli colonization. This question is unequivocal and has been clearly proven in the policy of Menahem Begin and in that of Shimon Perez. But we want to talk about the method by which we are resisting colonization. So far, this method has relied on political protest. In 1947 another method emerged: it called for the establishment of a national fund to buy land from the government and from poor farmers who were forced to sell, so as to prevent Zionists from taking over the land. Is it useful to think about methods of this kind to resist the Zionist colonization and to step up our opposition to this crucial matter?

Abu 'Ali Mustafa: The dangers, objectives and targets of colonization are clear; it is no longer necessary to indicate the immediate dangers that colonization poses to our people or to the national question of the Palestinian people in general. This means that we must intensify our efforts to oppose this Fascist, Zionist policy and to resist it with all available means. Every inch of land in Palestine that has been confiscated belongs to the people of Palestine who are historically entitled to it regardless of the way or the means by which the confiscation took place.

The sum total of all the activity of the Palestinian Revolution and its allies, activity which is based on opposing the Zionist entity, is that of resisting the occupation and the essence of the occupation plan which is manifested in taking over land and throwing out the people who live on that land. Since our view of the success of the revolution's plan as a whole is a question that falls under the heading of strategic victory, it is therefore necessary to carry out a series of other actions that can thwart and sabotage the settlement policy on the one hand and launch a broad international campaign against the enemy on the other hand. This requires that urgent tasks in this regard be carried out.

1. Support is to be organized and provided according to a plan that rests on principles which serve the steadfastness of citizens and their attachment to the land. Everything that can be done to enable people to acquire land is to be done regardless of the economic consequences of this financial support.



2. Agricultural projects and institutions are to be supported--small farmers are to be protected; cooperative agricultural and housing societies are to be encouraged; and more of them are to be established, especially agricultural consumer societies and marketing societies.

3. National industrial institutions are to be supported, and the areas of their activities are to be expanded so they can take in more workers and create new opportunities for employment.

4. Committees to defend the land are to be established and made available in every village. These committees are to be strengthened so they can undertake the tasks of prodding a community, mobilizing the masses against colonization and organizing the public's defensive activities against the enemy's plans.

5. A national fund is to be established. Its task would be to finance agricultural projects, to acquire land and to link that land with national institutions, societies and municipalities.

6. An organization is to be formed under the supervision of the Executive Committee to keep track of all questions that have to do with land.

Majid Abu Sharar: All Zionist parties and institutions believe that the creation of Israel depended basically on immigration and colonization. They believe that the survival of Israel depends on making more Jews immigrate to Palestine and settle the largest areas of land possible occupied by Israel. Simultaneously, more of these areas' Arab population would be evacuated and rendered homeless.

The number of settlements that the enemy established in the occupied land is 194. These settlements are distributed as follows: 78 settlements on the West Bank; 24 in al-Aghwar; 29 in the Gaza Strip; 10 in Sinai; 14 in the Negev; and 39 in the Golan. The average population of these settlements is 25,000. It is estimated that total funds spent on these settlements have been about 1.2 billion dollars. This means that each settler costs the Israeli treasury about 50,000 dollars. We are taking into consideration the fact that a large portion of those settlers keep their homes in Israel proper.

In light of that fact we must put the danger of colonization in its true perspective: we must neither exaggerate nor belittle the magnitude of its effects. The failure of Israeli authorities to double the number of settlements and accordingly curb the exorbitant costs of these settlement may be attributed to several reasons. The most important of these reasons are:

A. Security. The armed struggle has a positive effect on making the Jewish citizen take many matters into consideration before going ahead and taking part in the settlement process.

B. Living conditions are difficult in the settlements which are also a far cry from contemporary life. This keeps the settlement process confined to extremist Zionist fanatics who are devout, like the Gush Emunim, for example, and to a limited number of young people who dream of a socialist life in kibbutzes but who soon discover the falsehood of Zionist propaganda about this matter.

C. All attempts to normalize relations between those who live in the settlements and Palestinians on whose confiscated land these settlements were built have failed. Palestinians have been basically resisting the occupation. The well-known Hebron operation may be the best indication of that.

D. The components of a real sense of belonging to the land which is being settled are absent. Hence we can understand the reason why extremist fanatics who are devout are the ones who are eager to settle the land. They rely on arcane passages in the Torah that are extolled by Zionist propaganda.

The working paper that was presented to us by SHU'UN FALASTINIYAH states that our method in resisting colonization relied on political protest. This is not an accurate assessment. In addition to political protest a variety of other methods has been used to resist colonization. [The following] are the most important of these methods:

A. The continued armed struggle and the escalation of that struggle.

B. Opposing the enemy's attempts to purchase land in the occupied areas. This led to the establishment of settlements on confiscated land and not on land that was purchased. This makes these settlements illegal in the eyes of the law and to the world and provides the opportunity for all possible means of resistance.

C. Supporting the resistance of our people in the occupied land. We are thereby resisting one of the most important objectives of the enemy: to divest the occupied land of its people. And here we must admit that the enemy succeeded in evacuating large numbers of our people because resources to support the steadfastness have been meager. There are many examples of this. In 1980 about 20,000 Arabs, mostly people with qualifications, left the West Bank and the Gaza Strip looking for work. In 1975 [about] 13,267 persons, mostly professionals and technicians, left to go to Arab countries. This is according to the newspaper, 'AL HAMISHMAR. In its 4 June 1978 issue the newspaper AL-QUDS stated that 20,000 persons, mostly young single men had left the West Bank over the past 2 years. In the issue that came out on 5 May 1977 MA'ARIF stated that over 15,000 Arab citizens had emigrated from the West Bank in 1976 and that their ages were between 18 and 30.

In citing these figures we want to affirm the importance of supporting the steadfastness of our people by [providing] agricultural projects as well as craft and industrial projects that would take in the largest [possible] number of unemployed people. [We also want to affirm that] existing universities and educational institutes are to be encouraged; as many technical institutes as possible are to be established to take in thousands of graduates every year; and housing institutions are to be supported. This requires that the necessary sums of money be allocated. We are indicating here that the sum of 150 million dollars which was determined for steadfastness at the Baghdad Summit in 1978 is hardly enough to meet the minimum needs for supporting the steadfastness effort. If the oil countries were to allocate 1 billion dollars, per year, for example, we would then be able to take a serious step in the process of supporting the steadfastness effort, and we would stop the dangerous process of emigration from the occupied land.

At any rate this is an extremely important and serious matter. The leadership of

the revolution must make sound, practical plans to confront the settlement problem by all means. Leaders must try to provide the necessary capabilities for carrying out these plans, especially along the lines of establishing our people firmly in the occupied land. In practical terms the land assumes its identity from our people who stay defiantly on the land and from the establishment of national institutions that meet the essential needs of our people. Arab countries that are complaining of increased Palestinian presence [within their borders] are to realize that it is their abysmal failure to support the steadfastness of those Palestinians that forced the Palestinians to emigrate in search of a living. This concerns the oil countries more than it concerns others.

'Arabi 'Awwad: Colonization is the principal danger threatening the survival of our people on their land. It is threatening their destiny and their national future. Ever since Israel occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, occupation authorities have launched an extensive colonization offensive via the government's colonization institutions and specialized Zionist institutions. The aim of this onslaught is to create new, permanent facts in these areas that would ensure the survival of the occupation and the removal of our people from their land and prevent the creation of a Palestinian state in these areas. In 14 years of occupation millions of donums have been seized with different excuses and by force. Now more than one third of the land in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is in the hands of Zionist settlers. Also more than 130 settlements have been established, and wide roads have been built all over the country for the purpose of tearing up the regional unity of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and linking parts of those areas with Israel. Preparations are underway to dig a canal between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean Sea for the same purpose.

Although the modes that were used differed, the colonization offensive persisted under the administration of [all] Israeli governments. The Labor party's plan was to establish a security zone of settlements that would surround the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and isolate them from Jordanian and Egyptian territory. This zone would gradually penetrate the areas. Begin's government, however, turned from the outset to the densely populated areas [in an effort] to surround them with settlements, to conquer them and then to settle in them, as is now the case with Hebron. Begin has announced that the territory of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was "liberated Israeli territory." He gave Israelis the right to own land [in those areas] and to live there. Under his administration settlers set up their own local authorities on the occupied West Bank. These are represented in local councils and Israeli courts.

Israeli ambitions did not stop at the plunder of land. Israelis seized water sources and plundered ground water. While farming projects in settlements in the Jordan Valley and in other areas flourished, thousands of donums that have trees growing in them and that have vegetables planted in them are drying out on Palestinian land. By subordinating the economy of the occupied areas to the Israeli economy, occupation authorities are tightening the screws on agricultural production so they can destroy it and pave the way for evicting the people from the land and seizing the land.

Our people have resisted the colonization campaigns, and they've organized forms of struggle to protect their land and stop the process by which Zionist settlers are acquiring it. Many of our people died defending the land, while they waited

for the establishment of broad economic projects that would have helped them maintain their steadfastness on their land. As a result of their bitter experience the masses have begun giving careful consideration to developing the modes of their resistance to the colonization offensive that is encroaching upon them. They think that the settlers cannot be deterred and that their greed for expansion cannot be curbed unless they suffer losses in their ranks.

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: It is known that one of the foremost projects of the present Likud government is giving the settlements in all the occupied land, and especially around the principal cities, a free hand. The Likud government wants to expand the areas that have been seized around Jerusalem and the Jordan Valley. It wants to allow the establishment of settlements in areas where the Labor party had avoided such settlements for tactical, political or demographic considerations. All these signs indicate that the coming period will be one wherein all Zionist institutions will be allowed a free hand to seize the largest area of land possible and to complete the spreading of settlements in all the areas so that the slogan of the Likud party can be achieved. The Likud party openly declares that it has no intention of withdrawing from any part of these areas. Its plan depends on annexing all these territories. Regarding the population, the most that the Likud will accept at the present time is the autonomy plan. However, as the documents of many of its leaders and planners indicate, the Likud aspires to more than this. The Likud wants to evict the Palestinian population from those areas over an extended period of time by imposing all kinds of restrictions on them and surrounding them through the constant establishment of settlements.

In confronting this rabid settlement policy and its current and far-reaching effects on the destiny of the Palestinian people and their right to determine their own destiny, the following tasks appear to us to be more pressing:

1. The organization of a campaign to resist the placement of settlements in the occupied areas is to be developed. This is the principal task for which the popular movement is responsible on a comprehensive national scale. National committees must be established to protect the land, resist the settlements and respond to every attempt to seize part of the land with a far-reaching campaign that would not be confined to the area where the settlement was being set up. The occupied areas have seen extensive campaigns of this kind. As a result of these campaigns and with the solidarity of democratic forces in Israel, settlers' plans have been deterred and foiled.

2. In the Arab world and throughout the world interest in colonization questions is still minimal. Diplomatic efforts by Palestinians and Arabs are not focusing on this serious problem, especially when colonization is often accompanied by acts of terrorism and threats to the Arab population. It is possible to mobilize the broadest sectors of world public opinion against [these practices] and turn the question of establishing settlements into a central problem in the United Nations, in the Security Council and in all international agencies while the Zionist military government tries to go on establishing those settlements as quietly as possible.

3. Supporting cooperative and even individual housing projects in the occupied areas is an important ingredient in resisting the establishment of settlements and enabling new families to find places where they can live. It is the duty of the

joint committee to devote considerable attention to this objective. It is significant that occupation authorities have prohibited people from receiving foreign assistance for housing purposes. From their budgets, however, the municipalities are able to take care of this matter. Organizations, unions, professional associations and other organizations also take care of this matter.

4. Once again, helping cultivate the land which is abandoned by farmers because of harsh living conditions and encouraging farming cooperatives constitute a significant factor in [upholding] the steadfastness of citizens on their land and curbing emigration.

5. If the Zionist plan depends on gradually getting the people in the occupied land to leave, especially when social and living conditions are forcing large numbers of intellectuals and professionals to emigrate, the creation of work opportunities for these groups, attending to the task of improving teachers' standard of living and developing other educational and cultural institutions would contribute to foiling this Zionist plan.

The parts of the plan to resist the establishment of settlements have to be integrated. In that plan, the development of a broad national struggle inside the country and abroad is linked with a plan to protect the land from the cancer-like expansion of the Zionists. The plan would also provide the components of resistance and prevent emigration. It is in this context that we see the importance of forming a Palestinian committee under the auspices of the PLO. Friendly Arab and international [forces] would contribute to the formation of that committee which would resist the establishment of settlements and work in a procedural and planned manner to achieve the objectives that we have touched upon.

#### 8. The Unified Communist Party

Bilal al-Hasan: The DFLP has recently proposed the idea of establishing a vanguard party that would be tantamount to an alliance of leftist forces. It would also be tantamount to forming a unified Palestinian communist party. In its analysis the front stated that it thought that the material situation was prepared for that but that there were some flaws inherent in that situation. Where do you stand on this matter since the DFLP is proposing ideological and political questions that would affect the Palestinian struggle in its entirety?

Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh: The second congress of the DFLP gave this matter extraordinary attention. The resolutions of our congress affirmed that "The emergence of an independent national character and the revival of the national entity as manifested by the PLO provides the material foundation for the creation of a unified and an independent party for the Palestinian working class. The erroneous notions that used to make establishment of a party contingent upon establishment of an independent Palestinian state are regressing now. An awareness is growing on the broadest scale in the ranks of the Palestinian left of the historical importance implied in the establishment of a unified and an independent party.

"Broad sectors of Marxist-Leninists are interested in the establishment of this party. Our democratic front, which has struggled ever since its establishment under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and attempted to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism in a creative, innovative manner to our Palestinian world,

considers the matter of building this party to be one that concerns all these forces, groups and elements that are awaiting with considerable anticipation the creation of a party that would play its leadership role at this stage in particular to complete the tasks [that are required] for the democratic national liberation of our people. Such a party would be backed by the glorious heritage of the Palestinian Communist movement's struggle and by the struggle and sacrifices of thousands who labored under this banner so that the movement would be implanted deep into the ranks of the people. Although all other social classes have their unified parties in the ranks of our people as a whole, the Palestinian working class does not yet have its unified party. This is a fact, and tireless effort is required to accomplish this mission.

"This requires that we stay away from the temptations of superficial solutions and willfull, subjective resolutions that are hasty and arbitrary. In view of this historical task we ought to arm ourselves with a spirit of patience, tolerance and openmindedness. We ought to provide the factions and groups that adopt Marxism-Leninism with an opportunity to interact with each other, integrate the development of their party and strengthen their influence among the masses. We ought to encourage their actual and final shift into the camp of the working class. We ought to stimulate the ideological and political dialogue between them so that their programs and policies can be approximated. Erroneous ideas and notions are to be removed, and common guidelines for programs are to be formulated on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism. These are to be applied to our Palestinian and Arab material world. From the time of its establishment this party is to be firmly based in the ranks of the revolution; it is also to have the ideological weapon that would strengthen its capacity for leadership and protect it from all forms of rightist or leftist opportunist corruption.

"The party that is being sought is one that would unify all Marxist-Leninists who are loyal to the cause of the Palestinian working class: the cause of liberating their homeland and seizing full independence at the present stage of history regardless of current terms and organizational forms.

"Relations between forces of the left, as we see them at the present time and as these were determined by the report of our congress, must be based on tireless coordination of the struggle and common action that is based on the principle of promoting points of agreement and embarking on a common struggle that is based on these points of agreement. Points of controversy or difference must be defined and settled by means of reciprocal dialogue. A policy of neighborliness instead of one of competition is to be pursued; dialogue instead of argument is to be pursued; and, instead of magnifying differences, attitudes are to be brought closer together. This does not mean that the prevalence of a pragmatic tendency is to dilute intellectual differences and differences in programs. This rather means that each party would be entitled to propose its own programs without engaging in mutual insults; it means appealing to the masses and to the experience of life and struggle itself to settle differences between programs.

"Dialogue, mutual solidarity, common defensive action and a spirit of friendly competition in organizing the masses are the rules that will ensure that all Marxist-Leninist factions get closer together. [These rules will ensure that] conditions and climates for the ideological unity of these factions are available and that these factions will join each other in a leading, unified party for the Palestinian working class.



"Our strong interest in providing these self-created conditions stems from the realization that material conditions are propitious and available for the creation of this party.

"The historical exigency of improving the conditions of our revolution, strengthening the unity of our people and mobilizing the masses of our people requires that a new class of leaders emerge. Only the working class with its leadership of the Revolutionary Democratic Alliance and of the broad National Front can meet this pressing material need. The establishment of a leading unified party is absolutely necessary so that the working class can carry out this enormous task which history has placed on its shoulders."

This is what the resolutions of our second congress stipulated. With solidarity of principles we will continue the struggle with all the forces of the Palestinian left, and we will overcome all the secondary disputes that emerge here or there. We will take pains to settle these differences on the basis of principles and in the context of our concern for unity. We believe that proposing the task of establishing a unified party is quite consistent with our course to preserve the national unity of the PLO. Because of its makeup, its ideological course and its expression of the profound interests of the working class and the toiling masses this party will become the actual safety valve of national unity. It will become the tool by means of which national unity will be developed and strengthened in the context of the PLO, the sole representative of our people.

Abu 'Ali Mustafa: The fourth congress of the PFLP gave this matter--that of a unified Palestinian communist party--[considerable] attention. The congress approved the plan that was proposed by the Central Committee for that purpose and made the necessary changes in the bylaws. These changes are consistent with what we see is necessary to go through with this matter, and we realize that this needs a long time.

The PFLP's analysis, as recorded by our congress, complies with this appeal. We are in agreement with the DFLP. The essence of that analysis is that the material world is ready for completion of this major task. However, we are not ignoring the importance of the subjective factor of the organizations that adhere to the scientific socialist theory. That factor is suffering from deficiencies in this regard.

We think that all the revolutionary democratic organizations on the scene are responsible for this task. It is their responsibility alone to ensure the spontaneous conditions for the success of this task. Chief among these responsibilities is, first, that of providing positive climates between all the forces in question by strengthening bilateral combat relations. This progress then is to be followed up in group meetings so that positive areas can be expanded and negative ones diminished. A democratic, friendly group dialogue is to be initiated around all political and defensive questions so that a unity of vision in the short term and the long term can be ensured and points of agreement and of difference can be defined. The dialogue is to remain open around the points of difference since coordination among the leaders and the grass roots on the field is an essential step on this course--the course of strengthening the points of agreement and unity and overcoming the points of difference and disagreement.

The appeal for serious discussion of this important matter was preceded by numerous experiments [involving nations] with material conditions similar to ours.

Through a tireless struggle these [nations]--Democratic Yemen and Cuba--were able to solve this problem by forming their own unity. Undoubtedly, they based their victory on the land above all else. This is clear and concrete evidence that [the approach to] this matter is correct.

We in the Popular Front are extremely enthusiastic about pursuing serious dialogue around this matter, and we hope that progress will be achieved in this regard. With all the revolutionary, democratic forces on the scene, we will continue [the effort] to accomplish that which would strengthen Palestinian national unity and make it move forward.

Majid Abu Sharar: Before we respond to this important matter, we must refer to the fact that the stage of struggle that our people are going through is that of national liberation. Therefore, any step that is taken to establish a leading party or a unified Palestinian communist party will definitely be one that will serve the struggle in the stage of national liberation. It will have to be a step for consolidating and solidifying national unity and not a step taken at the expense of national unity. Ultimately, this will step up the political struggle and the armed struggle in the face of the enemies of our people: imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries. Therefore, all forces that are concerned with this matter are to take these facts into account. Also the objective factor is not to be separated from the subjective factor.

'Arabi 'Awwad: In recent years interest in the establishment of a Palestinian communist party has grown on the Palestinian scene. This is a positive matter that demonstrates the development of awareness in the Palestinian National Movement for Struggle. This development has been the result of numerous rich experiments which the movement had in facing imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionaries and their bloodthirsty conspiracies. It is a result of the Palestinian Movement's close unity with the Lebanese National Movement and with its national and progressive forces and parties. It is the result of its close relations with the Arab National Liberation Movement and its revolutionary factions, among which are the parties of the working class, [that is], the communist parties. This development is the result of increased cooperation and alliance with the countries of the socialist organization, chief among which is the Soviet Union, and with the world communist movement. As a result, progressive, revolutionary ideas, especially Marxist-Leninist ideas have become widespread in the midst of our people and among the factions of the Palestinian Revolution.

That is on the one hand. On the other hand, there is another factor that constitutes the social background for the propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas, as expressing the interests of the working class, the toiling masses and revolutionary intellectuals. That factor is the growth in the size and clout of the working class in the occupied areas and the shrinkage and regression in the size and clout of large landlords and the bourgeoisie. This [situation] was the result of the occupiers' policy of plundering and confiscating land and building Jewish settlements on it. It was the result of dealing a blow to the national economy in the fields of farming, industry and trade because Israelis were using the occupied areas as an annex to their economy, which is controlled by major conglomerates, as a market for selling their goods and as a source for cheap labor. Consequently and coincidentally, the role of the working class, which formed an alliance with the masses of farmers, the petty bourgeoisie and vast sectors of the national



bourgeoisie, grew and expanded on the arena of national struggle. The fact that the working class was insisting on Palestinian national independence became quite prominent when the workers adopted the objective of establishing an independent Palestinian state and rallied around the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In the mean time the role of major landowners and the large bourgeoisie in the field of political struggle shrank, and their representatives were overpowered by a tendency to negotiate with the occupiers and reach a truce with them. Their allegiance and their loyalty to national independence was questioned as a result of their economic and political ties with Arab reactionary and rightist regimes, especially in Jordan. Also the masses of the Palestinian people outside the occupied land, with the exception of those living in Jordan, consist mostly of workers and toilers who suffer from exploitation and discrimination and who face major difficulties [that are imposed] on their freedom to come and go, to travel and to have work opportunities.

Despite considerable interest in the establishment of the Palestinian communist party and appreciation of the significant role it will play in the Palestinian national struggle, this matter must not be seen as one that is facing the Palestinian national struggle for the first time. The task at hand is not to be construed as that of beginning to build the Palestinian communist party. Facts prove otherwise. The Palestinian Communist party was established in 1919. It was one of the first communist parties in the Arab countries.

Despite the difficulties, rifts and shortcomings it faced in its activities, the communist party remains part of our national heritage of struggle. The Palestinian party had its counterpart in the National Liberation League which was established in 1943. In 1951 its name was changed, and it became the Jordanian Communist party which, together with its branches, became the Palestinian Communist Organization on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the Palestinian Communist Organization in Lebanon, which includes in its ranks the vast majority of Palestinian communists.

It was therefore natural for the Palestinian Communist party to grow out of the Jordanian Communist party, to be its counterpart and to establish close and special relations with it. But this does not at all mean that creation of a Palestinian communist party is a mere mechanical process that would be confined to declaration of the name. Creation of the Palestinian Communist party has several requirements chief among which is that of being guided by a plan of struggle that defines our people's objectives on the basis of a scientific analysis that relies on Marxism-Leninism and takes into account the given factors, the accomplishments and experiences that the contemporary Palestinian Revolution has accumulated.

While taking into account the fact that there are factions of the Palestinian Revolution whose ideological positions and political programs have developed to the point that they are now adopting Marxism-Leninism, it is inevitable that the Palestinian Communist party establish close relations with these factions with the prospect of forming a union with these factions in the future when material and self-created conditions are propitious for achieving this unity.

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### INTERVIEW WITH KHALID AL-HASAN IN MONTE CARLO

JN112240 Monte Carlo Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1815 GMT 11 Jun 82

[From the "It Happened Tomorrow" program]

[Text] Will the cease-fire last? What will happen afterward? How is the Soviet stand interpreted? What are the [Palestinian] resistance options on the political level? We will pose these questions and others to Khalid al-Hasan, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Palestinian National Council.

[Begin recording] [Question] Syria accepted the cease-fire after it was approved by Israel. However, the resistance has said it is not a side to it and Israel has refused to apply the cease-fire to its fighting with the resistance. Do you think that this cease-fire will last?

[Answer] It is very likely to last within the declared framework. However, we must understand the political aims of the issue. This sudden Israeli agreement to cease fire without talking about the conditions it used to stipulate in the past indicates some sort of a trick. We have gotten used to tricks in the Israeli maneuvers. The cease-fire was not coupled by an immediate withdrawal. This cease-fire will prevent the escalation of the popular Arab struggle which has begun to prevail [in] the region, in addition to the escalation of the Palestinian-Lebanese joint struggle within the framework of the present battle and the victories scored. It will also cover up the Zionist failure in implementing the plan which was scheduled to be carried out within a limited period of time in agreement with Washington. This has happened despite the additional time given to the Zionist enemy to achieve its aims. However, the enemy failed to achieve these aims. Therefore, such a cease-fire is an attempt to achieve political gains which Israel failed to materialize during the battle. This is the case once we consider the timing and nature of the cease-fire as well as the geographical situation of the dispersed Zionist forces which are exposed to the joint Palestinian-Lebanese attacks.

The way the Syrian (?commitment) was announced--and I do not know if it was announced correctly or not--shows it has fallen into the Israeli trap. It also ruled out the Soviet role which should have been utilized because the Israeli aggression was committed against Syria whether against its forces in

Lebanon or inside Syria. Therefore, such an agreement has a smell of trickery and of eventually turning the issue into a Lebanese-Palestinian conflict. I hope that those concerned will not fall for this trick and will be very cautious in facing it.

[Question] Thus far, we are unaware of Syria's conditions for its acceptance of the cease-fire. What do you think these [phrase indistinct]?

[Answer] The cease-fire is supposed to stipulate the implementation of withdrawal and there should be no cease-fire until the enemy announces its complete withdrawal outside the international Lebanese border. It should not be merely a cease-fire after which the enemy forces remain in Lebanon and then begin to bargain over withdrawal according to political conditions that might lead to a conflict between the allied sides in Lebanon.

[Question] What could happen following the changes taking place in the arena?

[Answer] This cease-fire will increase the fierceness of inter-Arab disputes. The battle in Lebanon was a rare opportunity for freezing Arab differences and directing Arab efforts toward Lebanon. What is currently taking place with regard to the political discussions and political complications which will follow indicates that the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces have again been left alone in the arena. Hence, the political games, the imposition of conditions and bargaining will begin once again to achieve political gains within the framework of the statements made by Reagan, announced by Begin and talked about differently by Bashir al-Jumayyil. Thus, the arena of conflict will be transferred to Lebanon instead of being a conflict between Lebanon and those in it and with it on the one hand and the Zionist enemy on the other.

[Question] The USSR's stand was puzzling even for the resistance. What, in your opinion, are the reasons for Moscow's cautious stand?

[Answer] First of all there is a defense treaty between Moscow and Syria. The Soviets always commit themselves to defending their friends if attacked. Moscow is not reassured about the continuation of the issue in a manner which makes its public stand a continuous one because a big country like the USSR cannot move ahead and then move back suddenly as has happened during the past 24 hours. The second point is that we must note that there is a U.S. military concentration in the eastern Mediterranean. We must understand that there will be meetings in New York and elsewhere on international accord and in preparation for the USSR-U.S. summit meeting. There has been an interlink between the [word indistinct] regional and universal strategic interests of the two giants.

[Question] You said that the USSR is committed to a treaty of cooperation and friendship with Damascus. Does Moscow have any commitments to the Palestinian resistance?

[Answer] There are no commitments. Moscow's commitments to the resistance are [words indistinct] and not through a direct stand. Moscow's commitments to the resistance cannot be direct in Lebanon but through Syria as was the case in the past.

[Question] The resistance had its regions in southern Lebanon. In your opinion, from where would the resistance be able to operate after the blockade of southern Lebanon, in case the south is really blocked?

[Answer] If you meant by the word resistance the armed Palestinian struggle against the Zionist enemy, then I say that southern Lebanon has been blocked according to a Palestinian decision in 1971. This decision has not been violated except during the October War period. Therefore, stemming from its understanding of Lebanon's circumstances, the Palestinian revolution saw that the supreme Lebanese and Arab interests demanded that it not use southern Lebanon as a base from which to launch operations against the enemy in the occupied Palestinian territories. So, the issue of losing or not losing southern Lebanon is out of the question because it is not related to the issue of launching Palestinian military operations because of the Palestinians abiding by the decision made in this regard. The issue of southern Lebanon is now a political one and not the resistance's military action. The question now is whether the Zionists will remain or not remain in southern Lebanon. The confrontation of the Zionist occupation is also a Lebanese responsibility.

[Question] Do you think the Palestinian resistance will accept the Lebanese army entering Beirut?

[Answer] The resistance has never blocked the Lebanese army from entering Beirut or other areas. This issue was a subject of discussion between the Lebanese authorities and the Lebanese nationalist movement and not the resistance.

[Question] Cannot the resistance place pressure on its friends in the nationalist movement?

[Answer] The Lebanese nationalist movement's stance on this issue is that the Lebanese army must enter all areas, that is, enter both Eastern and Western Beirut. I believe that this is a logical request.

[Question] We know that parts of the Lebanese army are stationed in the eastern sector of Beirut.

[Answer] It is also present in the western sector as well.

[Question] What are the political options facing the resistance?

[Answer] I did not understand the question.

[Question] What are the political options facing the resistance, considering that the new situation has changed many things?

[Answer] It is still very early to say that the new situation has changed many things because we do not know its repercussions. We do not yet know whether the Zionist enemy will abide by the cease-fire and what are the conditions that have not been announced [words indistinct]. We need time to define the available options. In general, the resistance has long frozen Lebanon as a base for its military operations. The revival of this base depends on the revival of the Arab struggle and solidarity. This is the Palestinian stand.

[Question] It is said that you had met with the Israeli ambassador in London. We also know that the Israeli ambassador was later shot. What is your comment on this?

[Answer] Such words do not need any comment. Such an event is impossible. I believe you are referring to what was published in LE MONDE and AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT regarding [phrase indistinct] cause [word indistinct] and is misleading, particularly in the current stage which demands the unity of all ranks. The Zionist enemy always tries to defame the [Palestinian] leaders [words indistinct]. [end recording]

CSO: 4400/330

PLO OFFICIAL CALLS FOR ARAB TROOPS IN LEBANON

PM151145 London ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 12 Jun 82 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Khalid al-Hasan: This Is a Historic Opportunity To Teach Israel a Good Lesson, and Arab Strugglers Should Not Waste It"]

[Text] Kuwait--In an exclusive statement to ASH-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, Fatah Central Committee member Khalid al-Hasan said: It is now very clear that there is complete U.S. collusion with Israel in its invasion of Lebanon. This is evident in the statements of General Jones, chairman of the U.S. joint chiefs of staff, in which he said that the U.S. strategy is to oust all foreign forces from Lebanon, including the Syrian and PLO forces.

Al-Hasan added: "The number of the invading Israeli troops now in Lebanon has exceeded 125,000. The regular operational Israeli army consists of 65,000 soldiers. This means that 60,000 Israeli reservists are in Lebanon in addition to the 65,000-strong regular army."

Addressing the Arab states and people, al-Hasan said: "The historic opportunity available at present must not be wasted by the Arab strugglers. They should seize this opportunity to teach the Zionist entity a lesson it will never forget."

Khalid al-Hasan further said: "We request the Arab states to send their commando troops quickly by air to join the fight against the Israeli invasion forces. It is the duty of the Arab regimes and the Arab masses to foil the U.S.-Israeli plan to impose political capitulation terms on us."

He also said: "Under the present circumstances Iran should stop all clashes with Iraq and send its volunteers in by air. Iraq should dispatch forces to Jordan and fighters to Lebanon either across Syria or by air via Turkey, which has announced its approval of such a step."

Al-Hasan pointed out that Arab League secretary general Chedli Klibi, who has visited Kuwait and is now touring other Arab states, is moving to coordinate the urgent dispatch of Arab forces to Lebanon.



In conclusion, al-Hasan said: "The kind of battles being fought at present are the least costly for us Arabs and the most costly for Israel, and we should not let this historic opportunity pass."

In reply to a question about reports that Israel has announced a cease-fire and that Syria ordered its forces to cease firing, he said: "The enemy's defense minister has announced that the cease-fire does not apply to the Palestinians. If what has been said about a cease-fire is true, then it is a new trick which must be viewed with extreme caution, because it would mean the loss of a rare opportunity to score a clear Palestinian-Arab victory, provided the aforementioned resources are made available. Such resources can lead to a unique military situation in the history of the Middle East conflict."

Khalid al-Hasan emphasized: "Either the battle continues or Israel withdraws completely beyond Lebanon's international borders. Anything else would be a squandering of an imminent Arab victory."

CSO: 4400/330

PLO SPOKESMAN DISCUSSES ISRAELI INVASION, PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

DW161103 Cologne WESTDEUTSCHER RUNDFUNK NETWORK in German 1010 GMT 15 Jun 82

["Excerpts" from interview with PLO spokesman in Bonn 'Abdallah al-Ifranji by reporter Dombrowski at the Arab League Bonn office; date not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] The Palestinians in Beirut are encircled, and communications to Syria interrupted. The Israelis hold the view that the decisive blow against the Palestinians was successful--militarily at least. Is this correct, is the PLO finished?

[Answer] We never said that we are in a position militarily to defeat Israel. It is wrong to believe that a Middle East solution is possible on the basis of military strength. We have always been weak in the past 15 years. Nonetheless, on the political level we succeeded in making the entire world recognize the Palestinian people and winning friends everywhere in the world. The fact that the Palestinian people and their identity have been restored despite the military strength of the Israelis is an important factor. We have not had black days only today and this year, we had many black days in many phases. And yet, the resistance and will of the Palestinians are not broken.

[Question] You stressed yourself that you were politically very successful in the past years, and you also tried time and again to be militarily successful as well. This was the reason for the Israeli invasion, as they see it. The Israelis were attacked by the Palestinians.

[Answer] No, let me correct this. We have a cease-fire with the Israelis, and this cease-fire--in the UN documents--has been observed by the Palestinians. Five weeks ago, when the Israelis attacked us twice with aircraft, we did not even respond. In addition, the Palestinians are having quite a hard time now. The military situation is difficult. However, this huge and well equipped Israeli army has not been able to occupy all of the Palestinian bases. They have been in Lebanon for a week now and they are still fighting against the Palestinians. I may remind you that in 1967 the Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian armies did not hold out for more than 4 days.

The Israeli communique today mentions 200 Israelis killed. I talked to Yasir 'Arafat in Beirut today, and I know how many casualties the Israelis have. I do not want to say it here because I don't want to give the impression that we want to show off with it. On the contrary, we have seen that despite the weakness of the Palestinians, despite their poor military equipment and despite the small number of Palestinians as compared to that of the Israelis we have been militarily able to put up resistance for 8 days. We are still firmly holding our positions.

[Question] Mr al-Ifranji, I am surprised to hear from you that Mr 'Arafat is still in Beirut. But then he does not have a chance to get out of the city, I think.

[Answer] Well, you know this is a mathematical logic which cannot really apply to this region. 'Arafat is in Beirut and the PLO leadership is in Beirut, and they will stay there. Naturally it will be very hard and there will be many casualties on our side. But we will never give up, and the Israelis will never take our arms away.

[Question] Mr al-Ifranji mustn't you be very irritated by the fact that we see pictures and hear reports showing that part of the Lebanese people have welcomed the Israelis as liberators? Doesn't this express a great dislike to the Palestinians because they have been a state within the state and, strictly speaking, have taken the state away from the Lebanese? Doesn't that irritate you?

[Answer] No, you may have seen these pictures today, but these pictures were there. Part of the Lebanese are against the presence of the Palestinians. We have never denied that. However, a large part of the Lebanese are at our side. The other part we saw on television yesterday naturally have for a long time been against the Palestinians and the Lebanese siding with the Palestinians. I regret to say it again, but this is a fact we have lived with ever since we have been in Lebanon.

[Question] How and where are things to go on?

[Answer] I address this question to the Israelis and the Americans when they are trying now to liquidate and eliminate the Palestinians. Do you know that up until now we have had 15,000 dead and over 600,000 homeless people and that all Palestinian refugee camps are bombed so that nobody can live there? Now I would like to ask the United States and the entire world? Where are we to go? Is the final solution to be brought about for us with bombs and the like?

Yet, I am not too pessimistic, because I also think of the fate of the Jews; at the time people thought the Jewish problem could be solved by gasing them. It's the same with the Palestinians now. I do not think bombing the Palestinians will bring about the final solution.

Like many Palestinians I am dismayed that very often in our history we were totally alone. And yet, we have not given up. Help us a bit here and there. This was so in 1948 and 1967, and it is the same today. We will always hope we will return and implement our self-determination. We have not lost hope and we will never lose it.

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### PLO OFFICIAL CRITICIZES ARAB GOVERNMENTS

LD160942 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0803 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Washington, 16 Jun (KUNA)--The PLO representative at the Arab League office here has strongly criticized the Arab governments for what he described as their failure to take any strong measures against the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon. At a press conference here last night Hatim Husayni described the Arab stand on the Lebanese crisis as "extremely weak and totally ineffective." He said: "Western Beirut is under siege and the leader Yasir 'Arafat and his fighters are there, as are the Syrians. What will the Arab governments do?"

He also condemned the role of President Reagan's administration in the dispute and accused the United States "of plotting in this slaughter, this mass killing, this destruction of Lebanon and the liquidation of the Palestinians." He said that the United States "rejected all pressures" from the Arab countries to end the invasion. It is obstructing an Arab and Palestinian call to convene a session of the UN Security Council to implement a cease-fire.

He went on to add: "Now Mr Reagan will be receiving Mr Begin, will congratulate him and shake him by the hand" when the Israeli prime minister arrives in the American capital next Monday. Husayni said that the American people are receiving a distorted and biased picture of the conflict taking place in Lebanon because the information media here reflect only the Israeli viewpoint on the fighting.

Husayni said that the Palestinian forces are still fighting the Israelis in Sidon and Tyre and other regions of the south. He went on to add that fierce battles took place in particular yesterday at 'Ayn al-Hulwah camp near Sidon. Husayni said that the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon captured 86 Israelis, among them 8 senior officers.

He added: "Every man, woman and child in Western Beirut is carrying a rifle now and watching for the Israelis. Even some Lebanese who have never been fighters, have taken up arms. What can you do; you have no other choice."

Husayni said that PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat toured defensive positions in Beirut yesterday for the second successive day. He described Israeli claims that 'Arafat has taken refuge in one of the foreign embassies as totally untrue. He said these claims are part of the Israeli campaign to destroy Arab and Palestinian morale. He said: "The siege of Beirut is a reality. However, I believe it is also symbolic. Western Beirut is besieging the Arab world itself and exposes the fact that the Arab governments are simply sitting there watching what is happening in some sort of amazement and shock."

Husayni called on the Arab governments to devote their resources "to help the Palestinians and the Lebanese, and to join the war."

CSO: 4400/330

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### PLO MILITARY OFFICIAL ON ISRAELI INVASION

GF191710 al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 19 Jun 82 pp 1, 5

[Excerpt] Staff Brig Gen Sa'd Sayil [secretary of the PLO General Command] has noted that the Israeli call on the [Palestinian] resistance to lay down its arms within 48 hours constitutes a practical beginning for the invasion of Beirut.

In AL-KHALIJ's third phone call with him, he said that the Israeli call is merely aimed at deceiving world public opinion and a number of the European countries which informed Israel of their objection to the invasion of Beirut. He stressed that the decision undertaken by the joint forces and Amal is not subject to discussion, noting that "we will fight and be victorious. Moreover, we are waiting for the invasion forces whose moves indicate that the Beirut battle is imminent." Brig Gen Sa'd Sayil unveiled a new development in the Syrian position. He indicated that the Syrian forces in Beirut have received orders from their command to place themselves at the disposal of Yasir 'Arafat, the commander in chief of the forces of the Palestinian revolution. He expressed his satisfaction with the Soviet stance. He said: "The Ultimatum made by the Soviet Union early last week has taken its course on the political level and on the level of military backing." He added: "The current developments in the arena herald a strong and influential Soviet position." Brig Gen Sa'di Sayil confirmed that the joint forces are capable of repulsing the invaders. He continued: "We have many surprises that are bigger than the grave which our forces, the forces of the national movement, the Amal forces and the Syrian forces, have prepared for the invaders." He stressed that the joint forces have reinforced their positions behind the Zionist forces which are present in Beirut. He said: "We are ready and we have considered every military eventuality. We have prepared ourselves for long-lasting steadfastness and we are ready for confrontation in all the positions. We will dictate our conditions in the battlefield." He expressed belief that the invading Zionist forces are spreading in Mount Lebanon in such a way that asserts that they aim at reaching Zahlah, which overlooks al-Biqa' Valley. He added that this implies renewal of war between Israel and Syria.



On the situation in southern Lebanon, he said that the joint forces make continuous moves in Sidon during the day and at night, both inside and outside of the city. He pointed out that "our forces control the movement of the invading forces in addition to fighting in Sidon. As for the 'Ayn al-Hilwah [camp], fighting is still continuing there and the invading forces have just succeeded in entering the main street of the camp. Our forces are in control of most of the camp areas. They are in a better position than in the past. Moreover, the Zionist army did not succeed in controlling the camps of Burj al-Shamali, al-Rashidiyyah and al-Bas. It has entered the main street and is suffering losses every moment.

CSO: 4400/330

PLO PAPER DISCUSSES ISRAELI THREAT TO SYRIA

NC201237 (Clandestine) Voice of Palestine in Arabic 0843 GMT 20 Jun 82

[Text] Under the headline "Yes, Beirut Is a Red Line" the newspaper FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH today writes: This war has involved several military and political rounds as well as many parties. It has crossed red lines and turned upside down the concepts, guarantees and firm positions that constituted the backbone of various stands.

This war began on a small and limited scale. Israel called it the peace for Galilee operation and announced that its aim was to drive the Palestinians 40 km away from the Galilee. At that stage of the fighting the Syrian forces did not participate, perhaps because of considerations connected with Damascus' desire to avoid friction and being dragged into a war with the enemy during the current military imbalance between Israel and the Arabs. Perhaps this was also due to Syria's overall role in Lebanon being confined to the Arab deterrent forces, which determined the Syrian military role in Lebanon for Lebanese and domestic reasons.

The United States did not want Lebanon to become a new Syrian front against Israel in addition to the Golan front. This is an interpretation of Israel's approval of the entry of the Syrian forces and stoppage at certain red lines in southern Lebanon, which they did not cross. What concerns us here is that the Syrian leadership considered the Lebanese position as a [words indistinct] against Israel that it might be forced to use if war were to be imposed upon it.

This was followed by the missile crisis, which arose in Lebanon following the battles that broke out in Jabal Lubnan and Zahlah between the Syrian forces and the Phalangists and Israel's military intervention in those battles. Syria was forced to send missile batteries to the al-Biga'. At the time, this development was considered a deflection from the specific role acceptable to the United States and Israel, and perhaps to some Arabs, for the Syrian forces in Lebanon.

It can be said now that the Syrian-Israeli round, which lasted approximately 72 hours, and which began with Israeli aggression against the Syrian land forces, the striking at the missile bases and finally the cease-fire, was

in fact a U.S.-Israeli strike at Syria's role in Lebanon. This is because the role of deploying the missiles in Lebanon took a turn unacceptable to these forces. Despite the fact that Syria reached a cease-fire agreement, fighting on the Lebanese-Palestinian axes has not stopped. The cease-fire to which Syria agreed, however, was in fact a Syrian pause for breath and for an assessment of the realism of its plan. This followed the realization that the Israeli air and land strike ended the tactical understanding between Syria and the United States over the Syrian forces' presence in Lebanon and the limits of the role accepted by the United States and Israel.

The Palestinian-Israeli war has spread beyond the south and al-Biqa' and reached Beirut and B'Abda, where Israeli tanks have surrounded the Republican Palace. Philip Habib has arrived, and the political round of the confrontation has begun. It is clear to the Palestinian and Syrian commands that the head of the Palestinian revolution is what is wanted by Israel and the United States and that what is proposed to the Syrian leadership is to agree that Israel is to play a role in solving the Lebanese question and not Syria or the Arabs. That is, Israel will replace Syria in Lebanon. The Syrian leadership has not forgotten the dimensions of this U.S. proposal. What is required is to implement the U.S. proposal, the effects of which will not be (?confined) to Lebanon and Beirut but will also spread to Syria itself and the entire Arab nation. Thus, from Lebanon, which Israel would occupy, military and political surrender will be imposed on Syria, in addition to the far-reaching effects of the liquidation of the Palestinian revolution, which will primarily affect Syria itself in view of its pan-Arab status and unity with Palestine. Palestine is southern Syria, and Syria is northern Palestine. This is not a reminder but actual fact.

Despite the fact that the Israeli invasion forces are now besieging Beirut, this siege does not mean that Syria has washed its hands of the Lebanese people. [words indistinct] which Syria was following to avoid an overall Syrian-Israeli confrontation has disappeared with the striking at the missile bases in al-Biqa' and with Israel's deep thrust into al-Biqa', which is militarily considered Syria's belly. We would like to add here that appeasing Syria has become a difficult if not impossible matter. The Israeli tanks which are besieging Beirut are, from the view of the Syrian leadership and the Syrian Arab people, besieging Damascus. The effect of the siege of Beirut extends straight to Damascus, and events have proven that the military and political aim of the peace for Galilee operation has been Damascus from the beginning. Thus, we understand the noticeable warmth of Syrian-Soviet relations as well as Minister Khaddam's visit to Riyadh, the results of which appeared in the Saudi statement, which is, in fact a practical and serious warning to use the Arabs' strong oil weapon in the battle for Beirut.

What developments and factors are ahead of us in the battle for Beirut so that our assessment of the situation will be sound and our actions simultaneous with the moves of the other parties in this crucial round of

the conflict? The liquidation of the Palestinian revolution is the central aim of the United States and Israel. Also, the expulsion of Syria and the liquidation of its military and political role in Lebanon and in the Middle East are an Israeli (?goal) and a central U.S. and Israeli aim.

If there are different attitudes and differences among the Arabs over the Syrian role in Lebanon, violation of an Arab capital and liquidation of the Palestinian revolution is a grave matter on the pan-Arab level. Saudi Arabia realizes its responsibilities in view of Egypt's absence. Therefore, its leadership will not allow the Saudi era to witness the liquidation of the Palestinian revolution and occupation of an Arab capital.

We must once again praise the patient Soviet Union, which established an airlift with Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national movement and, consequently, consolidated the Syrian stand. Syria's firm stand appeared in refusing to withdraw the Arab deterrent forces and in closing the Jumhur road, the continued reinforcement of the Syrian forces in Lebanon, the opening of its doors to volunteers and its information and mobilization stand, which emphasizes the unity of the Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian position and the existing unity in the battlefield against the Zionist invasion.

These are the factors of the (?current) round [words indistinct] for Beirut. The side that wins the battle for Beirut will win the war, and the side that losses the battle will lose the war. Illusion now must be dispelled [words indistinct] the resistance, the Lebanese national movement and the people of Beirut that Beirut is a red line and that it will be fatal to the Israelis in view of our steadfastness and readiness to fight in defense of our honor and Lebanon's honor.

The tanks that arrived in Beirut threaten the national security of Syria and the Arab nation. Thus, the Arabs, the (?Soviets) and the (?French) are moving from the basic understanding that we have fought, and our decision is to continue to fight, because the alternative is to surrender, which our masses and the Arab nation reject. Beirut will continue to raise its head and will be safeguarded. If fighting is to be imposed on us in order to defend our land and people, the Arab nation and the masses of the world will stand by us. In one front that includes Syria, the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese national movement, the Amal movement, the Soviet military and political support and the peoples of the world [words indistinct]. Thus we maintain that Beirut is a red line by virtue of the justice or our cause and our steadfastness.

CSO: 4400/330

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

ABU JIHAD SAYS PALESTINIANS CAN FIGHT ON

LD211324 Kuwait KUNA in English 1059 GMT 21 Jun 82

[Text] Abu Dhabi, June 21 (KUNA)--A prominent Palestinian commander warned here Monday against the Western (?media) campaign of distortion of facts related to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Deputy commander of the Palestinian revolutionary forces Khalil al-Wazir told AL-KHALIJ newspaper that the Western media is launching a dirty war against the revolution and the national Lebanese movement in a scandalous political blackmail [words indistinct].

Those bodies tempt to picture the joint Lebanese-Palestinian forces as trapped in a desperate situation in a bid to demoralize the Arab peoples and weaken their support to the revolution which was embodied in the thousands of volunteers who flew into the battlefield and took their posts in confrontation with the aggressors, al-Wazir, codenamed Abu Jihad, added.

"Our military position in Beirut challenges the invaders and their allies," in [words indistinct] "be sure that the enemy troops are afraid of storming Beirut and fear a battle for the Lebanese capital and their announcement of the 48-hour truce and warnings for surrender only emanate from a weaker side."

The Palestinian commander said that (Israeli defence minister) Ari'el Sharon knows quite well the price we will have to pay if he wishes to enter Beirut and he also knows that he cannot capture the city.

If he could he would have done that ten days ago, al-Wazir said, adding yet, with all his huge air, naval and land power he has failed to occupy one post in Khaldah where his army has suffered hundreds of casualties in addition to the destruction of scores of armoured vehicles and tanks.

The Palestinian leader said that Sharon knows the exact figure of his army's losses in men and hardware and he also knows that more than double that amount will be inflicted on his army at the suburbs of Beirut if he attempts to attack.

Abu Jihad stressed that the joint forces are strong and are in constant contact with their various elements in Beirut, Mount Lebanon and the south.

He praised the national stance of the Lebanese progressive forces and the (Shi'ite) Amal movement saying that they are defending Lebanon's Arabism and the Palestinian revolution with all potential and flatly reject any settlement to the Lebanese internal problem as long as an Israeli soldier is stationed on the Lebanese soil.

We have the ability to withstand the battle no matter how long it lasts and we are capable of inflicting heavy losses on the enemy forces in all positions, al-Wazir told the [name indistinct]-based daily and affirmed that our lines are open to friends who back us and supply all our needs.

The Palestinian official called on every Palestinian and Arab citizen who [had] previous military training to volunteer and head for the warfront. "It is the Arab nation's battle and we must win," he said.

"The heroic resistance of the [word indistinct] forces has proved the possibility of final and all out victory in the battle," Abu Jihad assured the Gulf paper.

CSO: 4400/330



## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### 'ATIQAH DISCUSSES OAPEC'S ROLE, ACTIVITIES

GF121142 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 11 Jun 82 p 5

[Text] Kuwait, 10 Jun (KUNA)--OAPEC is a developmental agency and will continue to exist as long as Arabs are maintaining their oil and gas deposits, the organization's secretary-general Dr 'Ali 'Atiqah said today.

Oil is a strategic commodity of vital importance in war and peace, 'Atiqah said in a press interview here.

The current production cut should cause no anxiety but we should confess that the oil era had its positive and negative aspects.

Despite Arab differences which followed the Fes summit, the secretary general said he is not "pessimistic."

OAPEC is now playing a more vital role and its activities are increasing as well as its membership.

Listing the activities of the organization, 'Atiqah said the formation of OAPEC arbitration panel was a great achievement.

The joint Arab panel, now meeting in Kuwait is operating as a higher body for settling disputes and its resolutions are final.

He expressed hopes for more coordination in Arab petroleum policies as well as in fields of transportation, refining and marketing.

The present glut in the international market led the Arabs to realize that oil is a fluctuating revenue source, 'Atiqah pointed out.

OAPEC adjusts its position according to prevailing situations to cope with difficult changes in the oil market.

An agreement on the Algerian dry dock will be initialled in Tunis later this month, Dr 'Ali 'Atiqah added.

Asked to comment on the veto power of OAPEC's three founding members, Dr 'Atiqah said there is no such term in the organization's agreement.

No member state raised any objections when the application by Tunis for membership was considered.

Asked on any likely OAPEC problems because of the Iraqi-Syrian dispute over the passing of Iraqi oil across Syria's territory, Dr. 'Atiqah said no such item is listed in the agenda of the forthcoming OAPEC conference.

The problem is currently under discussion by OAPEC's arbitration panel in Kuwait. The forthcoming meeting of the organization will be held in Tunis June 16.

CSO: 4400/330

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

PLO DEMANDS POW STATUS--The PLO is demanding [doresh] that the status of POW's be granted to its men captured by Israel. The demand is included in a message submitted by the PLO representative in Geneva (Da'ud Barakat) to the International Red Cross. He argued that the photographs of the prisoners as broadcast over the European television networks showed the prisoners blindfolded and with their hands and feet manacled. He claimed that this is a violation of the Geneva Convention and he demanded [doresh] that the Red Cross intervene. [Text] [TA182330 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 2300 GMT 18 Jun 82]

PALESTINIANS ON HUNGER STRIKE--Amman, 15 Jun (SANA)--Political prisoners and Palestinian revolution strugglers began a hunger strike at al-Mahattah prison in Amman as of yesterday. Reports from Amman said that the strikers are asking the Jordanian regime to release them in order to join those defending the Palestinian revolution and the Palestinian and Lebanese people against the barbaric Israeli invasion. Delegations of mothers and families of the detainees headed for the prime ministry and the National Consultative Council demanding the release of the detainees to enable them implement their duties. The delegations also called on the PLO office in Amman to exert pressure on the Jordanian regime to agree to their demands. [Text] [JN152058 Damascus SANA in Arabic 2020 GMT 15 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/330

# KARMAL REGIME PUBLICIZES SOCIAL WELFARE MEASURES

## Reconstruction of Society

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 2 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

Reconstruction of the Afghan society, to set it on the course of advance and development is the major goal of the glorious Saur Revolution, especially its new phase. The revolution has accomplished constructive tasks in this direction in a relatively short time.

The DRA socio-economic development plan for the current Afghan year (ending March 20, 1983) covers 338 socio-economic projects. Of these, 63 will be completed and commissioned this year—nearly four times more than last year's when 17 projects were commissioned.

During the current year, the state has envisaged an investment of Afs 12.66 billion in development projects which indicate a 60 per cent rise as compared with the last year.

The share of the domestic resources in this investment amounts to 44.7

per cent and that of the projects loans, technical assistance and gratis aid from other countries to 53.3 per cent. Of the foreign aid portion, 82.8 per cent comes from the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. The share of the Soviet Union in it reaches 68 per cent during the current Afghan year.

During Afghan year 1361 H.S., the state invested funds for the completion and improvement of those projects which play a basic role in the development of national economy. The other projects will be financed from the ordinary budget of the state.

Priorities for the key projects were considered in the allocation of the development Budget and more funds were appropriated for them. For instance, 37.6 per cent of the

development Budget goes to mines and industries and power, 27.4 per cent to transport, 24.6 per cent to social services and 10.4 per cent to the agricultural sector.

The major projects which have been commissioned or are to be commissioned this year include those for a bread-baking silo, the Mazare Sharif flour mills and silo, the Pule Khumri flour mill, the petroleum products reservoirs at Logar and Mazare Sharif, the petroleum transport organization of Kabul, the technical services and transport station in Kabul, Hairatan, Mazare Sharif and Pule Khumri, the first phase of construction of various port facilities at the Hairatan port and the construction of motor-railway bridge over the Amu river, the construction of the first phase of water supply of Kabul city and the installation of automatic telephone stations for Kabul.

Other important projects include the construction of power transmission line at a capacity of 220 kilowatts in Khulm, Pule Khumri and Kabul with their respective sub-stations, the construction of an olive-processing plant in Jalalabad, the construction of the second phase of Hairatan's port structures, polytechnics and blood bank in Kabul, and renovation of the Jangalak complexes.

The relatively large number of projects, undertaken in the current year's socio-economic plan in the series of the popular DRA Government's development efforts, constitute another step taken by the Government for the advance of the homeland, providing work opportunity for a number of our jobless countrymen.

### Party's Welfare Plans

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 6 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

The Saur Revolution, especially its new phase which came as the first signal in our glorious history of the liberation of our toiling people from the clutches of the decrepit feudal order and the merciless exploitation of the past despotic ruling circles, opened a new chapter in the life of our oppressed compatriots.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, vanguard of the working class and all toiling people of the country, which has called for removal of diverse forms of socio-economic backwardness by planning and implementation of fundamental re-

volutionary transformations in all spheres in favour of the broad masses, considers joint and conscious cooperation of the people for fulfilling this end an indispensable requirement.

Undoubtedly, the joint efforts of the party, the Government and the people for advance of the motherland and defence of the achievements of the Saur Revolution and its new phase and their regular and coordinated strides in a united national front under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan will accelerate the building of a new society void of exploitation of man by man

despite the plots hatched by the counter-revolution for impeding the rapid implementation of the party and Government's plans for a blossoming society.

The useful measures adopted for realisation of broad socio-economic transformation and ensuring the moral and material needs of the working people and promotion of their living standards manifest the revolutionary determination and will of the party and the popular Government for well-being and prosperity of our toiling countrymen and social justice in this land kept backward for years

by cruel rulers.

Continuation of the democratic land reforms in favour of the landless peasants and petty landholders, establishment of agricultural cooperatives for all-out assistance to the peasants, raising of the salaries of the workers, establishment of workers' villages and recreational centres for the workers, building of low-cost housing for them, establishment of health and educational centres and other facilities for the children of the working class and establishment of the mass social organisations of various national strata for defence of the interests of the toiling masses, their increasing role in the national reconstruction drive and achieving the people's prosperity are among the major specific goals of the revolutionary Government.

It is in the light of the lofty objectives for prosperity of the working masses th-

at with every passing day, growing numbers of workers, peasants, progressive intelligentsia and other toiling masses rally around the broad National Fatherland Front, taking active part in the constructive social activities, launching work emulation drives and voluntary work for building a flourishing future.

The attention paid by the party and the revolutionary Government to improvement of the working conditions and meeting of the needs of the workers in different aspects of social life has been broadly manifested in all important resolutions of the party.

The Programme of Action of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan stresses and declares the all-out improvement of the living and working conditions of the workers, peasants, intelligentsia and all toiling masses as part of the major social duties of the party.



## Expanded Polyclinic Activities

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 6 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

As many as 79,098 persons were examined and treated at the polyclinic of stomatology during the last Afghan year, according to a source of the stomatology department in an interview with the Kabul New Times.

The polyclinic, the source said, is equipped with seven paid clinics, wards for preventive medicine, oral diseases and dental treatment, and a children's section besides surgery and denture sections. The total number of sections is 44.

The department also maintains a technical laboratory and other necessary sections. The X-ray section of the department with its modern equipments plays an important part in the treatment of patients. These sections, with its personnel are at the service of the patients. The new laboratory, which has recently been made operational, has been equipped with 20 protiz machines.

As many as 79,098 persons were examined and treated in the different sections of the stomatology wards of the polyclinic last year. This shows an increase of 3,806 persons in comparison to 1359 H.S.

Likewise, during the same period, dentures were made for 3,000 persons. The medicine and the materials for the dentures and for the treatment of patients coming to the polyclinic were procured from foreign and local sources.

It must be noted that the polyclinic also runs a free section equipped with four units of machines. Those patients, who are too poor to afford the treatment expenses, are examined and treated at this section and necessary medicines are given to them free of charge as well.

The regulations governing the treatment of patients at this polyclinic fully accord with the economic conditions of our people. For instance, for extracting one tooth, the polyclinic charges Afs 30, for removing the roots of a tooth Afs 30, for filling of one tooth Afs 100, and for making one denture Afs 75.

During the current Afghan year, this department will establish treatment and tooth-filling and denture-making sections in all the provinces, subdistricts, and the farflung areas where such facilities do not exist, according to the source. And, where such facilities exist, will be strengthened to provide larger services for the patients in these areas.

Meanwhile, the stomatology department plans to organise this year a mobile team for the purpose of treatment and prevention of diseases and send it to all the capital and provincial school dormitories and kindergartens. At the same time, the department plans to open a stomatology medicine store. This is necessary to meet the difficulties the department faces now. The opening of th-

is store for all the needed equipment and medicine and material will greatly facilitate the work of treating the patients.

The year's development plan of the department includes construction of a section housing a surgery department with modern equipments for the purpose of thorough operations, expansion and organisation of different sections of stomatology, including parodontology, physiotherapy, orthopaedics, and the laboratory, further development and expansion of international contacts for acquiring greater cooperation of similar institutions with the department, expansion of the free treatment section, and finally preparation of the ground for nationalisation of the stomatological medicine in the country.

In an effort to further expand and strengthen this branch in the country and to prepare adequate qualified professional cadres, the Stomatology College was established during 1358. This college, with its different departments, will train qualified stomatologists in the course of its five-year academic period.

At present, 178 students are undergoing training in the college. It is expected that the first batch of its graduates will join this department in 1362.

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 7 Jun 82 p 3

[Text]

"Over 21,000 birth have taken place in the Malalai maternity hospital last year", a Child and Mother Care Department source told the Kabul New Times recently.

The major and basic aim of the department is to reduce the miscarriage rate for both mothers and children.

The department was established in Hoot 1358 H.S. (February, 1979), after the new and evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution, in accordance with the lofty aspirations of the party and the Government for public welfare.

The department pays serious and ailsided attention to mothers, from the very beginning of their pregnancy till the birth, and guides mothers in the development and growth of their children.

The department also cares for the country's children from their birth to the age of 16 and aids in rearing and protecting them with the help of child and mother care clinics, school health clinics, the child health hospital, the Zaishgah hospital and other clinics.

The department deems it its duty to supervise the natural development and growth of the children and diagnoses their ailments and provides them necessary treatment accordingly.

The source added that the department, beside these social and public-welfare services, pays visits to the houses of pregnant women till they give birth.

Last year, among 21,000 expectant mothers only 19 died because of reporting late to the hospital.

This department is seriously and incessantly making efforts to encourage mothers to call on the hospitals and child and mother care clinics at delivery time in order so that may be helped in to giving birth in a safe and hygienic manner. It also tries to make them aware of the importance of the child and mother care clinics, with the help of the family guidance associations, by convening seminars and conferences, by publications and through the mass media.

The department has 13 child and mother care clinics in different parts of the Kabul city and 5 clinics in some other provinces of the country. These clinics are carrying out such humanitarian activities in order to provide efficient and good services to all preg-

nant women and their children.

From its establishment until now, the department has distributed 40,000 cards to the expectant mothers and 70,000 cards to newly born children.

Every pregnant woman is provided six kgs of wheat and every child receives three kgs of wheat, three kgs of dry powder milk and 1.8 kgs of edible oil every month, against their cards. Similarly, protein-rich foods will be soon given to those children who lack energy and protein.

The child and mother care department source said that the organisations who render assistance to this department are the World Health Organisation (WHO), the UNICEF, the UNFPA and the IPPF. The aid of these international organisations include publication, convening seminars to raise the level of awareness of the staff and the people, preparation of short and long term scholarships for the staff of this department. They also provide the department with foodstuff like wheat, milk, edible oil, basic medicines, instruments and so on.

Talking on the expansion plans of the department for the current Afghan year,

the source added that the department has in view building and inaugurating a 20-bed infection centre in the area adjacent to Malalai hospital and three NCH clinics in different parts of Kabul city in this year's expansion plan.

According to the plan, the department will fully equip and inspect the five clinics of the provinces, also take care of working mothers in the industrial organisations of the Kabul city with the assistance of the curative medicines department, and train personnel in order to effectively fulfil the activities of the child and mother care council.

Similarly, the research and evaluation will be carried out according to the plan, in order to better manage conditions for birth in the Malalai hospital and to reduce the cases of miscarriage.

The department will also establish six health centres in schools to medically examine and cure school children, and those in kinder-

gartens and nurseries. These centres will also correctly evaluate and apply to the children, the mass immunization programme. Similarly, the department is making efforts in management, control of events, case findings and treatment of fungal disease and escabes among students. The department is also going to train local midwives, increase the number of clinics, train personnel for the basic health services and establish well-equipped biochemical and pathology laboratories in the Malalai hospital. It will also build six foodstuff sections in the clinics of the Kabul city.

## Pro-People Measures

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 8 Jun 82 p 2

[Text]

The triumphant Saur Revolution, especially its new phase, for the first time in our glorious history, paved the way for combatant and unshakeable unity and solidarity of the national and democratic forces under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, vanguard of the working class and all toiling people of the country.

Since the victory of the liberating Saur Revolution and its new phase, while initiating a series of pro-people measures and introducing fundamental transformations for the well-being and prosperity of the working masses, the party and our revolutionary Government have simultaneously striven for growing organisation and mobilization of the toiling people as well as the national and progressive forces. The major illustration is the establishment of the vast National Fatherland Front.

The NFF is a strong front for advance and development of revolutionary Afghanistan and removal of the obstacles created against the progress of this country.

The formation of the vast National Fatherland Front as a historical need under the present cir-

umstances will play a significant role in uniting the national and patriotic forces.

No doubt, the establishment of the National Fatherland Front as a great social organisation in the country, loyal to the lofty objectives of the revolution, is of great importance in the present stage of the national and democratic Saur Revolution for realisation of the lofty objectives of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the revolutionary Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the PDPA CC and President of the RC, while stressing the importance of the formation of the National Fatherland Front in revolutionary Afghanistan, has noted, in one of his speeches: "One of the greatest achievements under the present evolutionary stage of our society is the formation of the National Fatherland Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan which has been established as a need on the initiative of our party and under its leadership".

Karmal has added: "Formation of the front is a significant event in our country's ancient history, which for the first time united all national, patriotic and progressive forces of the country under a single national flag for defence of the honour and national dignity and for rejecting the aggression and armed intervention of imperialism and for participation in building a new society".

In a relatively short time, the National Fatherland Front achieved considerable victories in rallying various mass and social organisations around it and mobilising the broad toiling masses for the blossoming of the Afghan society and defence of the gains of the revolution under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

The establishment and growing successes of the National Fatherland Front in revolutionary Afghanistan is a heavy blow to the vile designs of the enemies for creating discord among our people. And, it has provided the opportunity for the genuine growth of the national and progressive forces and their equal participation in the reconstruction drive for building a new society void of social contradictions.

CSO: 4600/562

PROSPECTIVES OF NATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAM REVIEWED

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 5, 6, 7, 8 Jun 82

[5 Jun 82, p 2]

[Text]

It is well known that, in every society, the major social problems, education, culture and all the moral structures are influenced above all by the social infrastructure and are based on the economic system. Therefore, in the societies where the decayed and degraded feudal and bourgeois systems dominate, their educational and cultural systems also inevitably are responsive only to the requirements of the specific economic system of the society and the ruling class and can never meet the needs and aspirations of the toiling people.

In our country, before the Saur Revolution, notorious and well-known agents of reaction who were in the leadership position of the states and governments of that time, were trying to arrange the educational system in a way to meet, on the one hand, the ominous and sinister aims of the reaction of the region and international imperialism, and on the other hand, to prolong the duration of the shameful rule

of the ruling circles by keeping the broad masses of the people in a state of illiteracy and ignorance.

The contents of educational curricula of our country at the time of the past feudal system of Nadir's decayed dynasty were a set of senseless programmes which had no benefit whatsoever for the people. Our country would have been void of truly educated and literate persons today, had it not been for a number of honest, conscious and responsible teachers.

It is rather unfortunate to admit that our youth, despite having university degrees, did not have the least knowledge of their country's economic and political conditions and were not able to draw any scientific conclusion from them. Our educational system as a whole was in the service of the rich, the feudals and the ruling classes. Millions of our countrymen were not only deprived of education but remained completely illiterate.

With the victory of the

glorious Saur Revolution, the political and economic power has been transferred to the working class represented by the new type of pioneer champions, namely the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and with the introduction of deep and basic transformations in the social, economic and political spheres a major turning-point has also occurred in the educational and cultural system.

The cultural reforms and the training of progressive man, which is one of the acute and urgent needs of our new society, is a major aim of the government and the party.

#### OPEN DOORS

The doors of the elementary educational institutes and schools, the secondary and higher education as well as the university are now open for all the sons of the toilers who were deprived of everything. In the first step, more than 25,000 youths who were left aimless and idle due to the senseless and reformist-born entrance examination regulations of Daoud's rei-

gn were accepted in the educational institutions of the country and restarted their education which was cruelly interrupted. Hearing this happy news, our noble and patriotic people offered moral and material help voluntarily to strengthen the financial structure of educational institutions. The women's and girls' rights have been restored and effective steps were taken for the rapid revival of knowledge and culture in the country.

But, as experienced by the world and as the history of progressive revolutions has shown, after every progressive revolution and transformation, in whatever part of our planet that may be, the world-devouring imperialism, headed by the US imperialism and with the cooperation of internal reaction, has resorted to plots and conspiracies...in order to delay or retard the progressive programmes which are to the benefit of all the people.

In our country, after the victory of the national and democratic Saur Revolution, the world imperialism came out to derail the Saur Revolution with the help of its notorious agent of the CIA, Hafizullah Amin, the most barbarous killer and fascist of this century.

As in all other fields, the educational and training institutes of our country were also imposed by the Sadistic rage of this murderer, and our beloved country, Afghanistan, with all its cultural gains and achievements of many thousand years, was not far from being devoured by the gigantic and bloodthirsty dragon of imperialism headed by the rulers of Washington's White House.

Fortunately, at this sensitive stage in the history of our country, the militant and revolutionary members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, on the basis of revolutionary principles, led by Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of PDPA CC and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, announced the new and evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution on Jaldi 6, 1358 (December 27, 1979) and saved the country and the people from collapsing into the ditch of death and destruction.

The party and the state have undertaken a series of progressive programmes in all fields of life including education because it is considered as one of the most urgent and the most valuable issues of our country.

After an all-sided study of the educational system of our country, the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA issued decrees no. 26 and 28 dated Hamal 13, 1359 (April 2, 1980) regarding education and eradication of illiteracy with the view to bringing about revolutionary innovations in the educational system, and to maintaining the unbreakable link of education and culture with the growth and development of the society and its needs. The Council of Ministers of the DRA also adopted the resolution concerning the reform of the educational system.



[Text]

The new system of education is in full accord with the wants and requirements of economic, social and cultural growth of the toiling people of Afghanistan.

This new system of education aims to equip the youth with new knowledge, political knowledge, a high spirit and sense of duty towards the homeland, full and complete preparedness, sacrifices, devotion and service in the way of the people's prosperity and well-being and for the blossoming of the country. For the realisation of these objectives, the new system of education will take the place of the old one gradually by applying the 10-year system of school education instead of the 12 year one.

The first circle of this system of education is the nurturing and training of the pre-school age children and the second link or circle is the new school of four years of elementary education. The incomplete secondary and intermediate schools, which have up to the eight class and the complete intermediate schools of a 10-year-course form the complementary links of the secondary education in the new system of education of the DRA. The final link is constituted by the higher schools.

### **ELEMENTARY TERM**

Before the end of the elementary term, the pupils should learn how to read and write. During this term, the pupils will learn counting processes and will acquire a definite concept of their environment, the nature and the society.

During the term of incomplete intermediate schools, the sciences with direct links with life, such as the natural sciences and social sciences, will be taught better. In this term, the pupils will get a scientific world outlook. Serious attention is paid to their physical training, their enthusiasm and interest in work and nurturing of their tastes and talents. In the ninth and tenth grades, the pupils will acquire scientific knowledge of the most important branches of industry and agriculture.

In the process of learning at the schools, serious attention is paid to the growth of the talents of cognition and understanding, the way of thinking, the memory, intelligence and the formation of aptitudes and the scientific elements of cognition of the students.

The scientific system of teaching the expert works and abilities that the students will learn in the secondary school term will provide them with adequate preparedness to proceed with their studies in the higher education institutions. During the secondary school term, the students will acquire adequate preparedness for life, social activity, and work in different fields of production of material wealth as well as for higher studies.

One of the most important social gains of the revolution is the fact that the new system of education in the country is the only system that gives an opportunity to every child to study in his own mothertongue. Education is free and universal in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and we say with pride that the new system of education in our schools is in full accord with the real interests of the toiling masses of Afghanistan.

For the first time in the history of education in Afghanistan, books on alphabet, mathematics and other subjects for the primary schools are published in five languages. In the year 1360 (1981-82), three grades of elementary schools all over the country had their lessons according to the new content of education.

Of the population of the country in the year 1356 (1977-78) about 26.8 per-

cent of the school-age children were enrolled in the schools while this enrolment in the year 1360 (1981-82) reached 70 per cent of the school-age children.

Among the extremely valuable measures of our revolutionary state after the new evolutionary phase of the Saur Revolution in the field of education, the convocation of the first congress of teachers of the country is of prime importance. This congress was held last year which was attended by 400 teachers from all over the country, and delegates from nine friendly countries. This congress is considered as a considerable event in the social political and cultural life of the country, which coordinated all the cultural forces in the task of sound training and nurturing of children and youth.

Thus, the application of the new system of education has been widely extended. The formation of new structure of education, together with the application of the educational plan, the programme and the new textbooks began from the year 1358 (1979-80) and will be totally applied and completed in 10 years.

The system of continued and daily evaluation together with the application of reforms has been implemented and practised with a view to raising the level of knowledge of the students, to preventing educational losses and repeated failures and to develop the method of consideration and positive and desirable habits in the pupils.

In the field of political work in the schools, in accord with the resolution

dated Asad 6, 1359 (July 28, 1980), of the Political Bureau of the PDPA Central Committee, the Ministry of Education succeeded in forming and activating special committees from the beginning of the year 1359 (March 21, 1980) in order to better arrange the school affairs on the one hand and to propagate and spread the lofty ideals of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the DRA state on the other. With the activation of these committees, which are mainly formed of the active members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Women's Democratic Organisation of Afghanistan and the Democratic Youth Organisation of Afghanistan, considerable improvement has occurred in the field of teaching and administrative activities of the schools and the previous shortcomings have been considerably reduced. The development plans are channelled in a definite direction and are being implemented rapidly.

These committees were formed only in two schools in 1980 as a demonstrational and pilot work, but in 1360 (1981-82) were formed and began their activities in all the schools in Kabul.

The Ministry of Education plans to still further expand the scope of activity of such committees in the year 1361 (1982-83), to make more accurate and complete the process of their coordination and development and also plans to establish a club of students.

(To be continued)

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has instructed the Ministry of Education to persistently cooperate for the development of religious schools and in case of need give them financial aids and mathematical assistance. In accord with the spirit of the Saur Revolution, besides the teaching of religious subjects in the higher religious institutes, the teaching of science, social sciences, philosophy, sociology, psychology, pedagogy and the methods of teaching have also been included in their programme. In addition to this, in the new programme of the religious schools, a series of useful books in the field of teaching Arabic language, further acquaintance with the religious texts and information on the deeds of Islamic teachers have been compiled, which are ready to be printed.

The syllabi of religious schools are being completed. Various committees such as the committees for discipline, health, hygiene, physical training, educational supervision etc. have been formed and activated. These committees also convene meetings in order to support the aims of the state.

The Ministry of Education, with the help of specialists, has undertaken the compilation of 130 titles of new textbooks. Out of these, seven titles envisage books on sociology which are already printed. On the other hand the basic work of application and compilation of new textbooks for the elementary schools, beginning from the first year, has started. For the realisa-

tion of this ideal, various methodical seminars on pedagogy, the new system of education and sociology have been convened for teachers in the capital and the provinces.

Only in the year 1359 (1980-81) and in the summer of 1360 (June 20-September 21, 1981) a number of 12,787 teachers of the first to third years got acquainted through these seminars with new skills and tactics of scientific teaching. Similarly in the year 1360 a number of 360 teachers of the fourth grades of Kabul and provinces adopted the new methodic teaching.

It must be added that together with the introduction of the new system of education and the reorientation of teachers of the first, second and third grades of the elementary schools, a number of supervisors were trained through these seminars in the capital as well as the provinces. These supervisors got acquainted with the new and progressive principles of supervision and guidance, control and evaluation and in accordance with the prepared programmes they visit their related schools and all-sidedly cooperate with the teachers.

The result of their work and their reports show that due to the application of the programmes of new school books a considerable improvement is seen in the teaching system in the elevation of level of the students' knowledge.

From the point of view of shortage of experienced teachers, shortage of basic constructions, textbooks re-

ference books, laboratory materials, kitchen utensils and equipments, the Ministry of Education is faced with many problems. However, it has been able to fulfill its duties actively and has taken serious steps towards the implementation of its programmes.

For the first time in the history of the Ministry of Education, the establishment of a central institute for the completion of terms of proficiency by the teachers in order to raise the level of their related skills, and implementation of the new system of education was approved by the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in the year 1359 (1980-81) and the institute began functioning. This task provided opportunities and possibilities for all the cadres of teachers, heads of departments, principles, supervisors and other staff of the field of education to work for their proficiency.

The revolutionary party and state of the DRA pay serious attention to the question of education of the teachers, to the status of teachers. As Babrak Karmal said in the first congress of the teachers of Afghanistan: "Having in view the weight and the importance of the teaching profession, the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, our Government in future also will consolidate and raise the confidence and prestige of the teachers and we will not be reluctant to provide all kinds of cooperation and moral and material aid in the face of your requirements".

(To be continued)

[Text]

Continuation of studies for the still further development of the skills and professions of all the personnel and officials is a major task of our time and one of the gains of our glorious revolution.

According to the plan, illiteracy will be abolished in the cities by the year 1386 (1987) and in the villages by the year 1390 (1990).

In the first year of the plan of campaign against illiteracy, it was planned that a total of 500,000 persons should become literate but in this year 515,000 persons learnt how to read and write. This means that the number of literate persons graduating from the literacy courses exceeded the planned figure by 15,000.

In addition to the establishment of courses for adults of more than 15 years, for the first time, courses have been opened for children of under 15 years who had been left out of the school due to the anti-popular and anti-cultural policies of the past regimes and were thus deprived of literacy and education. In these courses, according to a definite syllabus, the four-year term of elementary education is taught to be completed in two years in a compact form by well-experienced teachers.

The graduates of these courses will obtain the fourth year's certificate and can continue their studies from the fifth year of the school.

Similarly complementary courses called the functional literacy schools have been established for those adults who cannot enter the regular schools due to their age limit. At the moment, three such general schools are active at Kabul. The desirable results obtained from these schools, especially with regard to the voluntary enrolment of dozens of women present a promising prospect for the future. Similar schools are planned to open in the provinces also.

### LITERACY COURSES

The establishment of hundreds of literacy courses, functional education schools and courses for the children who are left out of the regular schools, are all signs of and testify to the indefatigable activities of the party and the DRA state towards the eradication of illiteracy. For the better and further arrangement of such activities, the Central State Commission of Eradication of Illiteracy has been recently established and the guidelines of the state plan for the eradication of illiteracy will soon be adopted.

After the Saur Revolution, especially its new, evolutionary phase, the kindergartens changed their face from their traditional form and are now traversing their development course. In the past, kindergartens were meant only for a tiny minority and no thought was given to the need to attract the toilers' children to them.

The development of kindergartens in par with the plan, especially after the beginning of the new phase of the Saur Revolution, with the selfless aid of the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, is very promising.

In addition to these, in pursuit of the philanthropic and humanitarian measure of the state, the Watan Nursery has been established to take care of the children who have lost their parents or have poor parents unable to feed and accommodate them.

The adoption of a Programme of Action by the countrywide conference of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which is considered as the most important and the most successful event of the history of our country, plays an outstanding and lofty role in the daily social and party life including the educational life and specifies and determines with full frankness the channel and the course of all our social activities.

Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the RC, in his historic and very valuable statement in the countrywide conference of the PDPA, said: "The party relies on this unshakable determination that the material position of the people shall be improved gradually, illiteracy abolished, education, public health and culture developed and also tranquillity and revolutionary legality maintained in the country".

The official documents of this historical and significant conference and the direct or indirect recailings of it make an indication of the fact that the question of education and learning in the country and the fundamental transformations in all the educational and training sectors have been seriously discussed and deep attention has been paid to them.

But, it must be mentioned with the utmost regret that the defeated enemy, with its desperate efforts, continues with its futile and fruitless creation of obstacles and tries to block the efforts and endeavours of the educational staff and to cause temporary stagnation of the cooperation of our noble and toiling people.

#### ACHIVEMENTS

As mentioned earlier, after the victory of the glorious Saur Revolution and its new, evolutionary phase, considerable achievements have been gained, all with the deep and all-sided support of the toiling people of the country. The toiling and free-born masses of Afghanistan voluntarily took part in the building and equipping of the schools and did not spare financial help, but all these fruitful activities enraged the enemies of Saur Revolution and, therefore, they chose the teachers, the schools and the students as their basic targets. They set fire to the school buildings built by the hand of the toilers which are considered as the public property, they callously and cruelly martyred the teachers and pupils who belonged to the masses and were considered as the elite and intellectual strata of the society. The enemies of our new society have waged an undeclared war against our country and

our people.

Anyhow, these counter-revolutionary elements will never succeed in their shameful aims. Babrak Karmal in a part of his speech at the first congress of teachers, had said: "To replace every destroyed school, our noble and toiling people will make hundreds of new and better equipped schools. And hundreds of young boys and girls of Afghanistan will take the place of every martyred teacher. This in itself is a crushing blow to the mouth of reaction, imperialism and hegemonism. The honest and conscious teachers of the country should not leave the people alone in this task of reconstruction and should become a good example and a source of encouragement to them and should make direct contribution to the work".

Thus, the prospect of our country's education is very vast. We will continue with everything that we have started in the field of education. There is no power in the world to prevent the rapid process of awakening of the peoples of our country.

It is not accidental that an open book is seen in the state insignia. The open book shows symbolically one of the major duties of the Saur Revolution and its new, evolutionary stage, i.e. the all-sided growth of education, eradication of illiteracy, extension and spread of knowledge and science among the masses of the people.

The day is not far off when universal education shall be achieved in our cou-

ntry with every family having easy access to books, newspapers, magazines and every family having installed in its house a television set and a radio sets every city and town and village having adequate clubs, theatres etc all of which will lead the philonathic and talented people of Afghanistan to acquire full acquaintance with the national and world culture and arts.

To achieve this noble aim, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan calls on every intellectual and every individual citizen of Afghanistan to spare no efforts by way of implementation of this task together with their pioneer party in order to see Afghanistan in line with other advanced and developed countries of the world.

(Concluded)



CHERCHELL MILITARY ACADEMY EXAMINED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 19 May 82 p 12

[Text] At the entrance to the town of ChercHELL, on the first street to the left, there is a superb promenade planted with trees between blocks of spanking new buildings. At the end of the promenade: The Interbranch Military Academy.

Here are trained a part of the active officers assigned to be cadres of the ANP [National People's Army] as leaders competent at all levels of responsibility of command.

The infrastructure which has been established answers the requirements of modern officers' training, since national defense in today's world has large-scale goals and is by nature complex.

"Defend and build," the motto of the academy, finds its applications in the program of courses and the complex of installations which have been set up, which include scientific laboratories, living language laboratories, amphitheaters, specialized halls for instruction in the different technologies, several mechanical workshops; sports, medico-social, and cultural complexes, rooms, firing ranges for automatic and electronically controlled arms, and various fields designed for practical exercises.

Scientific instruction is an important part of the training program, since it is well known that the defense of a nation is the product of four strengths: military, political, economic, and cultural. All of these depend in large measure on the scientific and technical potential of the nation. Science today is considered one of the pillars of power.

The chosen site in ChercHELL--an historic town--still today provides specialists with testimony of the past of our people from antiquity, and particularly its military tradition from the beginning of time.

The museum of the resistance constructed within the enclosures gives a complete panorama of those rich times. The representation of Algerian military history from its beginnings until today stresses our glorious war of national liberation with the laying out of several halls where significant documents of all types on the epic of our people against the colonial yoke are displayed.

It should also be pointed out that this school of Cherchell was selected in 1943 by the foreign occupier to serve as a military training site for colonial officers.

These officers were then used against our people during our war of liberation.

Taken over in November 1962 by the ANP, the school began on 26 June 1963 to operate for the purpose of giving recently mustered officers training based on scientific and technical, cultural, and ideological instruction enabling them to perform their duties of defending the country and the socialist revolution, while at the same time participating in the building and economic development of the country.

Transformed into an Interbranch Military Academy (AMIA) in December 1979, it provides basic training for future officers and advanced training for officers of the ANP.

The basic training is conducted in the specialties of the combat arms--infantry, tanks, field artillery, anti-aircraft artillery, military engineering, and military transportation.

Political commissars are also trained at the AMIA. The organization of the Academy reflects the goals set for the ANP by the National Charter, which specifically stipulates that "national defense" must constantly evolve in order to adapt itself to modern techniques.

Technological advances bring about the continual addition to tradition of new methods which sometimes overturn the totality of strategic problems. One of the basic tasks of our army is also constantly to raise its technological level and to expand the capacities of the nation for resistance.

The requirements for entry to the academy are a diploma in the case of holders of the baccalaureate in any field and an examination of students of the 3rd year of secondary school between the ages of 18 and 23 who at the end of their 3-year training cycle are issued the diploma of basic military education (licence es-science militaire).

The number of applicants each year is far higher than the place provided. Hence the necessity of an entrance selection, and the level of those admitted makes it possible to give them a scientific and technical education necessary to enable them to master the military technology of the present day.

While scientific education comprises a good part of the training program, theoretical study is always buttressed by applied practical work in the laboratories (40 percent of total hours).

Each group is staffed with an instructor in the subject of study and two assistants: (active or conscript officers) and the staff personnel is completely Algerianized.

The system of instruction used makes it possible to follow very closely the work and progress of each student officer so as to fill the gaps which have



been recognized, to overcome any deficiency noted in a particular field, and to review any part of the course which has been poorly assimilated. The rational organization of the training cycle makes it possible to obtain the results anticipated.

While the pace of work maintained at the academy may at first slightly handicap the training of some student officers unused to the work methods used here, all end up by adapting themselves to it in the first few months and achieve optimum performance: failure to complete the course is almost nil, since the student officer enjoys adequate teaching staff and has at his disposal all the pedagogical or other tools necessary to enable him to get the most from himself.

It must be noted that all the candidates come to the academy by vocation, and are completely motivated by what they are doing, being fully aware of the responsibilities which await them in order properly to fulfill their duty. They want to be the worthy successors of the Army of National Liberation. The defense of the country and of its revolutionary gains will be the constant concerns of their lives.

The importance assigned to scientific instruction at the academy is explained by the complexity of the world today, characterized by a race for ever more sophisticated armaments. The modern officer must also be a technician and a scientist in the full sense of the word.

It is in this context that scientific education is given at the academy, for in addition to developing the intellectual faculties of the student officer, thus teaching him to reflect and to reason in order to attain a goal, it makes it possible in a purely technical field for him to know, down to the smallest details, the whole of the equipment which he will have to use and to utilize it most effectively.

This education also provides him with the foundations necessary to be retrained easily in the use of any new equipment within his specialization, for, as new as it may be, the scientific bases on which it was developed are practically always the same.

#### Assimilating and Mastering Recent Military Technologies

A visit to the various laboratories of the academy endowed with modern equipment gives one an idea of the work required of the student officers and of the performances achieved. Among the specializations, the scientific modules concern, among other disciplines, metallurgy for the study of the structure of the material, the mechanics of fluids, with intensified study of the characteristics of oils, hydraulic systems, the resistance of materials, the instructions necessary to the different bodies of engineering, electro-technology and electronics. For the different systems of detection physics, organic and general chemistry, classical and applied mechanics (machine-tool workshops and the fabrication of small-scale models); thermodynamics (exploitation of solar energy), industrial design, laboratories in the living languages, etc....

An introduction to modern arms completes this training based on the mastery of a good scientific level, for everyone is aware that the leading technological discoveries in the world have broad military applications.

The Interbranch Academy of Cherchell is only one facet of the efforts of our country for scientific training for the purpose of mastering technology in its various aspects. Due to the urgent necessity of strengthening and developing the scientific and technical potential of our nation, the representative of the Ministry of Defense noted at the recent national seminar on scientific and technical research which was held at the Palace of the Nations at Algiers, we should be particularly concerned not only with the problem of a deep and comprehensive study for the purpose of mastering an existing potential, but also a research policy permitting innovation and the acquisition of our knowledge, which constitutes the basis of a genuine strategic process of technological progress.

At the end of the training cycle of 3 years, the student officer is promoted to the rank of second lieutenant and receives an assignment in his specialty in a unit of the ANP across the country, where he will be able to put into practice the knowledge acquired at the AMIA.

After the regulation period within these units, the officer will return to the academy for retraining, and his whole career will be governed by continual training in conformity with the goal fixed for our national defense, which should be popular, global, integrated, permanent, and evolving, developing in harmony with the economic and social policy of the country.

The existing infrastructure at the AMIA is complete with large sports, cultural, and medico-social complexes and a very large library with a reading room containing more than 150,000 works in several languages.

The organization of life at the Interbranch Academy, the work, the training, and the stress which is increasingly placed on the scientific training of the student officer--adequate staffing and equipment--gives it the character of a large university in military science furthering the assimilation of the progress achieved by military science and technology in all fields.

For more information on the AMIA, an exhibition is planned at the Information Center of the ANP. It will be open from 1 to 20 June 1982. At the same time the doors of the AMIA of Cherchell will be open to the public on Friday, 4, 11, and 18 June from 10:30 a.m. In addition we should like to point out that it is the tradition of the AMIA to organize an entrance examination which will take place on 26 and 27 July 1982.

6108

CSO: 4519/189

GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS FOR SINAI RECONSTRUCTION

12,000 Workers Hired

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 May 82 p 8

[Article by Ahmad al-Tabarani from al-'Arish]

[Text] Maj Gen Yusuf Sabri, the governor of North Sinai announced that a decision has been made to hire 526 individuals as a first group to work in the installations and utilities [providing] services in the liberated areas.

Mr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Fattah, director general of organization and administration announced that 700 other persons would be hired and that, in addition to 50 percent [of their salaries] as incentives for extraordinary efforts, they would all receive the benefits for persons working in al-'Arish.

Isma'il Radwan, director of manpower added that manpower offices in Rafah and al-Shaykh Zuwayd have begun receiving people who are seeking employment and registering them for work in both the public and the private sectors.

Sharm al-Shaykh and al-'Aqabah Sea Bridge

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 May 82 p 9

[Article by Mahmud Kamil]

[Text] Negotiations with Jordan are to begin in a matter of days to set up a sea bridge that would connect al-'Aqabah and Sharm al-Shaykh by means of a number of regular ferries which would carry tourists and cars between the two cities on a regular basis. The ferry travels the distance between the port of al-'Aqabah and that of Sharm al-Shaykh in 90 minutes. The ferry trip is also a pleasant sea excursion.

A delegation from Jordan's Civil Aviation Organization is scheduled to arrive in Cairo next Sunday. It will discuss with the Civil Aviation Organization [in Egypt] the new air routes for airplanes between the two countries after Sinai is liberated.

Speaking of Arab tourism Minister 'Adil Tahir said that all arrangements had been made in all of Egypt's airports and ports to facilitate the arrival of Arab

tourists to Egypt this summer. The minister said that an agreement had been made with the Ministry of Health to set up a special office that would receive applications for medical treatment from fellow Arabs. The office would reserve places for them in hospitals and set up appointments for them with Egyptian physicians prior to their arrival to Cairo. The telephone numbers of that office will be reported to all the Arab countries.

#### Taba and Tourism

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 12 May 82 p 3

[Article by Hasan 'Ashur and Ahmad al-Tabarani]

[Text] There are now 12 customs entry points in Sinai between Egypt and Israel and Egypt and the world. There are entry points on land for automobiles and entry points for air travel at the airports.

Citizens, tourists and goods will go through these entry points.

The rules and measures of action at these entry points and the function of each as well have been determined. In addition to these 12 entry points in Sinai, it is expected that a sea route will be operated between the port of Ashdud in Israel and the port of Port Said.

"At first," says Ahmad Hilmi Basyuni, undersecretary of technical affairs at the Customs Administration, "a decision was made to establish 12 customs areas in North and South Sinai. Some of these will be customs for land travel, and others will be for air travel. Customs areas for land travel will specifically be in Rafah, al-'Awjah, Ra's al-Naqab, al-Barri and Taba. Customs [areas] for air travel will be in the airports of al-Jawrah, Ra's al-Naqab, Ra's Misrani, al-Tur, St Catherine's monastery and al-Tur seaport."

A decision was made to designate al-'Awjah an entry point for goods; it will be designated a point where measures for goods can be completed. Exports and imports to and from Israel will go through this entry point. It is expected that 10 trucks will go through daily.

Because the price of gas and diesel fuel is lower in Egypt than it is in Israel, an agreement was reached between the Egyptian side and the Israeli side that the difference between the price of gas in both countries would be collected for the consumption of each Israeli truck or car while it is in Egyptian territory.

#### Entry Points for Cars Opened in Rafah and Taba

Ahmad Hilmi Basyuni, undersecretary for technical affairs at the Customs Administration says that customs buildings in Rafah and in Taba have actually been inaugurated. These buildings have been furnished with all the equipment, furniture and cars. It is expected that 5,000 passengers of different nationalities will go through Rafah every day. Most of these will be Europeans and Americans. It is expected that approximately 100 tourist cars will arrive daily.

A decision was made to permit private cars to enter [Sinai] under a temporary

customs release system which is under the international traffic register system, provided that these private cars not run on diesel fuel; that they accommodate no more than seven passengers; and that they cannot be driven in deserts such as jeeps.

It is expected that 10,000 tourists will go through Taba every day for tourist purposes on the Gulf of Suez in the areas of Nuwayba', Dahab and Sharm al-Shaykh. These tourists would be given special visas with which they can enter Sinai only.

#### Comprehensive Survey of Trucks for Carrying Goods in Rafah

Since the city of Rafah has been a city throbbing with life, Husayn Amin, first undersecretary for customs for the Sinai Customs area was asked to conduct a comprehensive survey of all cars, equipment, machines and commercial goods [in the area]. The survey was to be presented to Dr Salah Hamid, minister of finance for his review so that necessary measures in that regard can be taken, even though there is no inclination to impose any new or additional burdens on the people. They suffered enough under the occupation.

Isma'il Dhikri, director general of Sinai customs adds that the airport at Ra's Misrani and al-Jurah airport was being designated the landing area for the airplanes that will be carrying the multi-national forces. A decision was made to set up a customs area in each one of the two airports. Customs measures will be followed according to the agreement that was reached and according to what the protocol on treatment of these forces stipulated.

#### Ra's al-Naqab International Airport, Operating Round the Clock

A decision has been made to consider the airport in Ra's al-Naqab an international airport. It will operate round the clock, and airplanes coming from abroad bringing tourists to the areas of south Sinai would land in that airport. It is expected that the number of passengers coming to the airport daily will be about 1,000.

Usual customs measures will be applied to every passenger coming to the country from these airports. A decision has been made to consider al-'Arish Airport, St Catherine's Monastery Airport and al-Tur Airport customs departments.

#### Sea Route between Ashdud and Port Said

Ramadan Mustafa, director general of Port Said Customs says, "A sea route between the port of Ashdud in Israel and the port of Port Said will be established. Ships will sail from Ashdud towards Port Said for commercial exchange, on the one hand, or for tourism on the other. It is more likely that tourism will be more important and predominant because prices in Egypt are much lower than they are in Israel, and this will make it easy for the ordinary Israeli citizen to travel in the Republic of Egypt."

#### 3 Percent of Fees for Sinai Reconstruction Projects

Regarding whether or not these 12 customs entry points will benefit the governorates of North and South Sinai, the state's decision stipulates that 3 percent of

the customs fees collected be designated for the governorates where these customs entry points are located. It is expected that the proceeds will amount to about half a million pounds annually. All these funds will be invested in projects for the reconstruction of Sinai.

#### Geological Research in Sinai

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 May 82 p 1

[Article]

[Text] AL-AHRAM's correspondent has learned that the results of preliminary research conducted by Egyptian geological expeditions in Sinai have revealed new [deposits] of coal and iron ore in the area of Jabal al-Halal. This is the area where Israeli authorities had drilled an exploratory well in the course of their oil exploration operations prior to the withdrawal from Sinai.

Geologist Mahmud Za'tut, chief of the Geological Survey Organization stated that the new area was about 60 square kilometers. He said it could add large quantities of coal to quantities of confirmed coal reserves in the area of Jabal al-Magharah. These reserves are estimated to be about 50 million tons.

Contacts are now underway between the Geological Survey Organization and the Public Petroleum Authority to obtain the details of previous studies. These studies were conducted by Israeli authorities, and Egypt acquired them.

8592

CSO: 4504/307

## COMMUNICATIONS IN SINAI

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic No 197, 3 May 82 p 8

[Article by Muhammad al-Minyawi: "Transportation, Communications, Maritime Transport Serving Sinai"]

[Text] A 2,400 kilometer system of roads to connect parts of Sinai together.

Internal and international telephone communications with Sinai and with the world.

Luxurious buses for passengers.

First direct passenger service between Cairo and Tel Aviv and between Sharm al-Shaykh, Elat and Ra's al-Naqab.

Sharm al-Shaykh harbor to be prepared for the docking of ships with a 15 meter draft.

Sinai has been returned to the embrace of the mother country, Egypt. Sinai has been returned, and every Egyptian has been moved by his yearning for that dear part of himself which is revered and held in esteem. Egyptians are very fond of Sinai whose status for Egypt has been special since most ancient times. The roads of Sinai used to be the principal means of communication between Egypt and the remaining countries of Asia. Therefore it was natural for the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Maritime Transport to give these roads special attention since Egypt maintains its contacts with the Arab countries by means of these roads. [The parts of] Sinai would thus be connected together by paved roads, and the task of populating and reviving the peninsula would be made easy.

In order to find out the effort that has been made by the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Maritime Transport let us read together the file on Sinai that was prepared by Engineer Sulayman Mutwalli, minister of transport, communications and maritime transport. The report was prepared so that agencies of the ministry could turn it into a plan of action that would make Sinai flourish.

### 2,400 Kilometers of Roads

The network of paved roads in the governorates of North and South Sinai is almost 2,400 kilometers long. These roads connect important locations and cities with the shores of the peninsula: those on the Mediterranean Sea, on the Gulf of Suez and on the Gulf of al-'Aqabah. In addition, there are numerous secondary roads which are used as alternatives to these roads.



## Confronting the Needs of Reconstruction

To preserve the condition of the roads so that future plans to make Sinai flourish and instill life in its facilities can be met, an urgent plan has been prepared to resurface 300 kilometers of roads and to build and pave a new road between Nakhl, Ra's al-Naqab and Taba. This would make direct access possible between the late Ahmad Hamdi Tunnel and Taba at the northern end of the Gulf of al-'Aqabah. In addition, there will be the Ra's Muhammad and Sharm al-Shaykh road and the road from St Catherine to Dahab.

### 50 Million Pounds

The cost of all this work, which will be carried out over the next 3 years, amounts to about 50 million pounds.

### Transportation for Passengers

To complete the picture, let us leave the section on roads and read what the ministry has planned to provide transportation for passengers traveling inside Sinai and between various parts of the republic. These plans would do away with Sinai's isolation and would restore life and traffic to it.

The East Delta Bus Company, one of the companies of the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Maritime Transport, operates a passenger service system between North and South Sinai and between Sinai and Cairo.

### 25 Modern Vehicles

To provide passengers with excellent service, 25 air-conditioned luxury vehicles have been prepared to serve tourists traveling from Cairo directly to Sharm al-Shaykh and to St Catherine's monastery.

### A Central Transportation System

In addition to operating a local transportation system connecting al-'Arish, Rafah, al-Qantarah and al-Qasimah, there is another transportation system connecting al-Tur, Sadar, Abu Zabimah, St Catherine's monastery, Sharm al-Shaykh, Dahab and Nuwayba'.

### An Egyptian-Israeli Exchange

After peace was achieved and Israel met its commitment and returned Sinai to the motherland, Egypt, a decision was made to begin providing passenger service between Cairo and Tel Aviv as of 29 April 1982.

Besides, there are two other transportation routes: the Sharm al-Shaykh-Elat route and the Ra's al-Naqab-Elat route. These routes began operating yesterday, Sunday, the 2nd of May 1982.

### Progress in Communications

On the morning of 24 April there was direct contact for the first time between Engineer Sulayman Mutwalli, minister of transport, communications and maritime

transport and the Egyptian delegation from the Telecommunications Organization. The call was put through the microwave network which was set up between Sharm al-Shaykh and al-Tur in 1 month. Setting up that network included [installation of] relay stations. Egyptians are thus proving their ability to confront and overcome difficulties. Connections were laid across the Gulf of Suez to Ra's Gharib and from there by coaxial cable to Cairo.

#### 24 Communications Circuits

Because of its importance, 24 telephone, telex and telegraph circuits have been provided for the area of Sharm al-Shaykh.

Work on connecting Rafah, al-'Arish, al-Qantarah and Cairo is about to be completed. Sharm al-Shaykh has been provided with five international (WIL) [meaning unknown] telephone circuits; numbers 765586, 767201, 767369, 765619 and 765737; it has also been provided with 7 telexes.

The agency has also provided three communications circuits between Sharm al-Shaykh, Alexandria, Rome and Israel.

#### Al-'Arish Communications

As far as al-'Arish is concerned, 5 international (WIL) circuits, 7 local (WIL) circuits for Cairo, 2 international radio switchboards and 13 other communications lines have been installed.

#### Serious Plan

The sum of 10.95 million pounds was allocated so that the Telecommunications Organizations can provide ideal service to al-'Arish. Of this sum 7.75 million pounds are in foreign currency, and 3.20 million in local currency. [The funds will be used] to set up a telecommunications system to connect the Sinai Peninsula with the Arab Republic of Egypt. A contract has been concluded with Siemens, a German firm to implement this project.

#### Direct Services to Airports

Communications services have been provided [linking] the airports of al-Naqab, Ra's Nusrani and al-'Arish with Cairo International Airport. In addition, automatic circuits have been provided to serve the airports.

Let us go back to the special file on the plan of action that was compiled by Engineer Sulayman Mutwalli, minister of transport, communications and maritime transport so we can find out about aspects of the work that is carried out by the maritime transport sector, which is affiliated with the ministry, in cooperation with the cooperative societies. The maritime transport sector works with these cooperative societies to transport goods to Sinai. They transport all the consumer goods, food supplies and principal construction materials Sinai needs. The ministry has set aside for that task modern trucks that have a capacity of 30 tons so that the needs of transport, no matter how heavy they are, can be met.

## Maritime Shipping Sector

The ministry did not forget that ports and the maritime transport sector are important. Before the withdrawal from Sharm al-Shaykh was completed, the ministry sent a delegation from the Red Sea Ports Authority to inspect and take over all the establishments of the port, the docks and the operating machinery. The harbor is now ready for the docking of ships with a draft of 15 meters.

## Postal Services

Since the function of postal communications is one of the aspects of civilization, the plan included having the Postal Organization open postal service offices in Sinai, in al-Qantarah East, Rummanah, Baluzah, Bi'r al-'Abd, al-Fawakhiriyah, al-'Arish, Rabi'ah, al-'Ubur, Abu Saqr, Najilah and al-Khashanah. Offices are being set up in al-Shaykh Zuwayd, al-Qasimah, Rafah and Abu Tawilah.

In South Sinai offices have been opened in al-Tur, Abu Zunaymah, Abu Rudays and St Catherine.

Work is underway to complete new offices in Dahab, Nuwayba' and Sharm al-Shaykh.

Before we close the work file, [let us say that] the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Maritime Transport was not satisfied with the range of work. The ministry is preparing additional projects to meet the expected growth in housing, agriculture or industry in Sinai. It has a new ambitious plan that would provide traffic and transportation from and to Sinai.

This plan is being studied and prepared, and its implementation will be announced at the appropriate time.

1592

010: 45,4-308

## CONFERENCE WITH ISRAELIS DISCUSSES CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 25 May 82 p 10

/Article by Ibrahim al-Bahrawi: "On the Sidelines of the Alexandria Symposium: An Argument on the Role of Psychiatry in Resolving the Arab-Israeli Conflict"/

/Text/ On 1 May, the American Psychiatric Association held a symposium in Alexandria to discuss issues of conflict and peace. Three delegations, from Israel, Egypt and America, consisting of professors of psychiatry, professors of history and political scientists, took part in it.

Last week we published a report on this symposium and the Israeli conception that manifested itself there, after the chairman of the symposium, Dr Muhammad Sha'lan, had informed us that this section had been brought up in the course of the discussions for publishing an analysis by Shlomo Gazit, a member of the Israeli delegation to the conference, reprinted from the newspaper YEDIOT AHARONOT. This resulted in heightening the discussion. We based the report on a discussion with the chairman of the symposium, in order to shed light on the nature of the discussions in it.

## Sociologists Protest

Following the publication of the report in the last issue of this section, we received comments from a number of our sociology professor colleagues at the 'Ayn Shams University Faculty of Letters giving objections on the feasibility of psychiatry and its role in resolving the Arab-Israeli struggle.

The objections, which our colleagues had deputized our friend Dr Mahmud 'Awdah, chairman of the Sociology Department, to present to us, may be summarized by the following points:

1. Psychiatry is not the right approach for resolving international conflicts in general and the Arab-Israeli conflict in particular because this conflict is essentially social, economic and political in nature.
2. The psychological dimensions of the struggle are a phenomenon that is secondary to the basic problems, and they are essentially just a symptom of the basic ailment.

3. In their efforts at this sort of conference, psychiatric scholars proceed from a fallacious premise, which is that the psychological dimensions are the basis of the problem, and they therefore present fallacious solutions as a result of essentially erroneous diagnosis of the nature of the problem.

4. The only role that Egyptian scholars of psychiatry play in symposia of this kind, which is negative and contrary to Egyptian and Arab goals, is to implant Israeli notions in the Arab mind and create psychological justifications for extremist Israeli conduct.

#### Chairman of the Symposium Replies to the Objections

In reality it would have been easy for us to let this dialogue take its course in the halls of the university, because we have not been a party to it, even in the symposium. However, we consider that it will be useful, as far as the reader of this section is concerned, to carry on the dialogue before his eyes. Therefore we brought the sociologists' objections to the chairman of the symposium, Dr Muhammad Sha'lan, who is a professor of psychiatry, for comment.

After presenting these objections to him, I asked the chairman of the symposium "What do you say to the objection to using psychiatry as an approach to resolving international conflicts?"

He replied, "Every problem has a beginning in human consciousness and an end in it. If we accept this, then all problems become 100 percent psychological, in the sense that all problems in external reality are reflected in human consciousness and influence it, causing it subsequently to affect those problems. However, the confusion arises when we say that the problem is only psychological, as the blind man speaking of the elephant said it was only a trunk. Here is the source of the confusion and error for someone specializing in some branch of knowledge."

I inquired, by way of comment,

"What if we say that it is necessary to remedy the problems of international conflict by eliminating their causes in external reality first of all, considering that the existence of these causes in reality is the origin of their existence and they have repercussions in the human consciousness?"

The symposium chairman replied,

"In order for me to eliminate the causes that exist in external reality, the process of elimination must start in the human consciousness. Therefore the question you ought to ask is not 'Is the cause of the Arab-Israeli problem psychological, economic, social or political?' but rather 'What role can each citizen contribute as a citizen, in addition to the special expertise he possesses?' Ordinarily we say that special expertise is isolated from general problems in an ivory tower, but the fact is that a person with a specialization must play his part in public activity by using his specialization, not in isolation from it."

I told the symposium chairman:

"If we agree that this is the proper condition of the question, can we move, through your experience in the symposium, to evaluate the feasibility that is constructed upon this specialized role in the dialogue with the other party?"

The symposium chairman replied,

"We can say that the basic skill the psychiatrist possesses and can bring to the realm of international conflicts is skill in the ability to listen to other points of view, however insane they may seem. Proceeding from that premise, the role of psychiatry in the Arab-Israeli struggle is clear. Zionism, in the opinion of the Arabs, is a complex of delusions and insanity and naturally the opposite also holds on the part of the Jews. While it is difficult for an ordinary citizen to carry on a discussion with someone he believes to be insane, this is not an obstacle to the psychiatrist."

#### Expertise and Benefit

I asked the symposium chairman,

"Let us move over to the field of specifics. How did the psychiatrists exercise their skills at the Alexandria symposium, and what benefits can they offer specialists in other branches, as far as conflict and peace are concerned, in terms of what they performed at the symposium?"

He replied,

"The process of running a dialogue needs the ability to emphasize the shared attributes of the people conducting the dialogue, rather than dwelling on points of dispute."

I asked, "Would you be so kind as to give examples of benefits?"

He replied by stating,

"There are many sources of dispute between us and Israel, and the dialogue could come to a stop if we started with these or contented ourselves with them. Rather, the benefit of dialogue is to find common areas expressive of the two parties' agreement over a goal. Perhaps the clearest example of this is each party's need to stop the fighting and bloodshed. If we arrive at this pattern, you will find, for example, that there is a common interest in resolving the Palestinian issue. Therefore the approach is not to defend the rights of the Palestinian people but to emphasize the shared benefit in solving the Palestinian issue."

I asked the symposium chairman:

"Of course Egyptian intellectuals will wonder about the role psychiatry can play in eliminating actual obstacles, as embodied in Israeli conduct against the Palestinian people; these are the cause of the current psychological alienation of Egyptian intellectuals. Did the Alexandria symposium realize an benefits in this direction?"

He replied by stating,

"Enlightening a segment of the Israeli public to accept the Palestinians represents a start toward changing their conduct, because when their realization that the conduct they are exhibiting results in harm to their interests grows, the conduct will change. In addition, there is emphasis on the fact that holding onto their positions on Palestinian rights will harm the cause of peace as a whole."

I asked the conference chairman,

"The contrary view holds that this sort of symposium, which is held in the context of psychiatry, will not lead to any real results, will not change Israeli conduct toward the Palestinian people, and as a consequence will not realize any benefits for the Arab party or for the cause of peace. All that it will realize, according to this point of view, is that it will accustom Egyptian intellectuals to expect a solution to come from inside Israel and will divert them from thinking about other ways of resolving the problem."

Dr Sha'lan replied,

"This sort of general activity, like any new activity, starts in limited form, and this symposium, in its limited form, might not lead to results that are actually noticeable. Still, we must put the question the other way around, asking 'What would the role of the absence of this sort of symposium be in influencing Israeli behavior?' The absence of dialogue will influence the public in Israel in a way where this public will form united ranks behind fanatic beliefs and positions. By putting on a boycott, we support extremism and the extremist mentality."

"This is what we are trying to avoid in this sort of symposium, using our skills at listening and getting in touch with others as scholars of psychiatry. These are skills which it seems others are lacking."

11887

CSO: 4504/326



TEHRAN CONTINUES TO DISPLAY ITS CONFIDENCE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 75, 10 Jun 82 pp 1-2

[Text] Tehran's mullahs, in a gesture of supreme confidence over their ability to keep the Iraqi forces at bay without trouble, sent their defence minister Mohammad Salimi, ground forces chief Sayyad-Shirazi and revolutionary guards chief Mohsen Rezai to Damascus early this week.

They were to see how Iran could help to battle against Israeli forces invading Lebanon, whom Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani branded as "illegitimate sons of America." Rafsanjani urged other Muslim countries to consider using the oil weapon against Israel's Western backers, and said the "blockade weapon" should also be considered. This was an obvious reference to a possible closure of the Strait of Hormoz at the head of the Persian Gulf.

It was obvious, too, that the mullahs feared no threat from any other military chief or political quarter at home. Not too many Third World countries these days could risk their key defence chiefs being away together in peacetime, never mind during a war.

Nor are the mullahs in a hurry to bring their bargaining over reparations and moves for the opening of peace negotiations to any early conclusion. Though Iraqi president Saddam Hussain agreed to go to a summit meeting in the holy Islamic center of Mecca with his Iranian opposite number, the latter, Ali Khamenei, rejected the invitation. Khamenei had earlier set the figure of reparations Iran demanded for war damage at \$150 billion after the Gulf States were reported to have offered to put together \$25 billion for the purpose.

The mullahs were turning a stony face towards all attempts at mediating in the Iraqi war, preferring to boost up their campaign to keep the Arab states along the Persian Gulf as jittery as possible. Once again, they felt they had exploited the possibilities of the Western media very effectively; the main job of instilling fear of Iran and its capabilities to decide the destiny of its neighbours was carried out, like the campaign to get Khomeyni back into Iran, by the gullible Western newspapers and radios.

Tehran sent deputy foreign minister Shaikholeslam, of the U.S. Embassy hostages incident fame, to keep up the fear campaign against United Arab Emirates and other states bordering on Saudi Arabia, which has continued its media campaign against the Tehran clerics. South Yemen, an ally of Iran, showed it was not serious about negotiating with Oman on problems affecting relations between the two countries, merely exploiting a political opportunity by suggesting it was. Riyadh was quick to send a minister to Aden to start urgent talks with the South Yemenis on not only this question but the Iranian threat to the region, sources said.

Abu Dhabi's Shaikh Zayed, who has been trying to find some sort of a mediating role between Riyadh and Tehran, sent his own emissary to Khomeyni this week. But no details were available of the message he carried. Tehran for its part was making no secret of the fact that it was trying to isolate Saudi Arabia by making overtures to its neighbouring smaller states.

Khamenei warned at Friday prayers that Saudi Arabia was sitting in a glass house and it would find that it was "insulting a country which has a sackful of stones." Saudi Arabia described the Khomeyni regime as "unIslamic outcasts" and called on other Muslim countries to start a holy war against them.

The Tehran daily KAYHAN, in response to this, said it was the Saudis who were outcasts from Islam and thus were not qualified to call for a holy war. Stooges of the United States certainly did not have this qualification, it added. Along with other sections of the media KAYHAN seemed to be singling out Saudi Arabia for attack, and to a much lesser degree Qatar. Shaikholeslam met the Qataris during his trip to the Persian Gulf and southern Arabia this week and the welcome accorded him suggested the Qataris were aware of possible animosity towards them in Tehran and were anxious to do something to set things right.

The Tehran mullahs naturally weighed in with a lot of invective against Israel over the attack on Lebanon. They called for volunteers to fight, and for other help for the Palestinians. They claimed the attack was part of an orchestrated plan of which President Reagan's trip to Europe, closer American-Moroccan relations and many other elements they recited were part.

For some reason, perhaps the memory of the vast amount of unsolicited help their regime had obtained recently from the foreign media in its campaign against its enemies in the Persian Gulf conflict, the mullahs were upset by the fact that that same press did not report their sending of the defence minister and other top military people to Damascus as quickly as they would have liked. "They did not dare to mention it," Tehran radio said, as if wanting to explain to the public why Iran was not given credit for being in the van in the fight against America and its stooge Israel.

Last weekend saw a heightened campaign against America, some observers believed as a result of some fears of new American involvement in the affairs of the region. Most prominent figures in the regime attacked America; Ayatollah Montazeri, Khomeyni's heir-apparent, told a congregation that the hate campaign against the Great Satan must not be relaxed, and there should be no impression given that the fight against Islam's greatest enemy was losing its fervour. Egypt was also included among agents the Americans were exploiting in their campaign against Islam.

Khamenei warned that America would not leave Iran alone because it had bloodied its mouth. Now was the time to concentrate on fighting America, he said. And Premier Mussavi, in naming this week's religious holiday as the day of the deprived all over the world, said Iran saw "violent action" as essential to restoring the true rights of deprived people. This was seen as a clear commitment to the use of force to spread the Islamic revolution.

Meanwhile Khomeyni himself, in appointing an until-now obscure mullah in Hojatoleslam Yussef Sanei as his representative on the new high council for reconstruction which he decreed should be set up, said the work must be left in the hands of strictly committed cadres who would be at the disposal of Friday prayer leaders in charge of the word.

CSO: 4600/560

# MULLAHS PLAN TO CONTROL RECONSTRUCTION PROCESS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 75, 10 Jun 82 pp 2, 3

[Text] The mullahs have decided to exclude all non-religious organisations from participating in the reconstruction of the areas in Khuzestan devastated during the Iraqi occupation and later during the liberation by the army.

Friday prayer leaders in each province have been assigned to oversee and handle reconstruction work of a specific village or town in the liberated areas. The Friday prayer leader of East Azarbaijan, an old crony of Khomeyni by the name of Hojatoleslam Malakouti, was the first to cable Khomeyni asking that the reconstruction of an area near Hoveizeh be assigned to the hezbollahis in his province.

Then Friday prayer leaders in other areas made similar requests to be assigned to rebuild a particular area. Following these requests Prime Minister Mussavi announced that citizens who intended to participate in reconstruction efforts should report to their district mosque. More specifically, he stressed that the residents of the liberated areas must not rush home; rather they would be required to go through the so-called resettlement process organised by the clerics. A special bank account has also been opened to which citizens are asked to make donations. A second bank account will accept long-term deposits.

At this stage the real intention of the mullahs is not quite known. The correct course of action would have been for the government to set up a special commission charged with the overall task of rebuilding the war damaged area. Then a number of sub-committees could tackle the job at village, district (Bakhs) and town level in a coordinated fashion. Khomeyni has announced the setting up of a high council for reconstruction, but it will be controlled by the clerics, who will also control things at local level.

One of the most difficult tasks will be to ascertain people's property rights where all buildings and landmarks have been destroyed. Because of the suddenness of the Iraqi attack and the people's flight, documents which could make proof of claims possible have been destroyed in many cases.

Now, with the sudden influx of the so-called hezbollahis from all over the country into the area, fears have been expressed that there may in fact not be room for all the original occupants who fled in the face of the enemy advance and who now want to return. Certainly big numbers of people will find their jobs gone and new posts taken by the mullahs' favourites.

Reports from Tehran indicate that middle-class Iranians, who are the most quietly determined opponents of Khomeyni, are openly saying that the corrupt mullahs of the Khomeyni camp are bent on filling their pockets with the money which will be allocated for reconstruction.

However, some observers believe that the mullahs intend to create a string of settlements similar to Israel kibbutzim in the rural areas, to be populated by young and indoctrinated followers of Khomeyni who will combine farming and cottage industries with some sort of military muscle. Eventually, the observers say, the armed farmers will be developed into a resident border guard corps, taking over the duty of protecting the frontier areas from the professional army.

Setting up of para-military farming settlements was one of the original plans of the assassinated leader Mohamad Beheshti. He advocated a plan to populate the liberated areas with guardsmen and other irregular fighters who would turn the region into a huge agro-industrial-cum-military camp. The indigenous population which could not be absorbed would then be settled further east of the hinterland.

Recently the mullahs have been calling on the young guardsmen and other volunteers to marry the widows of their comrades who were killed in action and then settle down in newly developed areas. Ayatollah Montazeri has said that such a plan would create new towns and villages populated by 100 per cent committed and indoctrinated Islamic revolutionaries.

So far it is not known what plans are in store for the reconstruction of Khorramshahr itself, which before the Iraqi invasion was Iran's largest seaport. Iranians inside the country have already set the rumour mills working that the mullahs and their families are making plans to siphon off some of the promised war reparation money they hope to obtain from the Arabs. Some government counsels, however, are warning that the receipt of such a huge sum of money could encourage political opportunists to make a political move.

CSO: 4600/560

## IRAN

### ISRAELI ADMISSIONS ON ARMS EMBARRASS KHOMEYNI

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 75, 10 Jun 82 pp 3, 4

[Text] Statements by top Israeli officials on the sale of arms to Iran are regarded by the Islamic authorities in Iran as deliberate provocations designed to obliterate facts about Iran's victories, sources in Tehran say.

"The authorities here are clearly worried about their image," an informant told IPS. "There is no doubt that the mullahs' image has been tarnished, even among the hezbollahis. Although these hezbollahis put on a brave face, they are clearly unable to defend the regime's arms purchases from a declared enemy of the Arabs."

The official line in Tehran is to deny the whole thing and to say that the so-called disclosures by top Israelis were part of a worldwide campaign to bolster support for Iraqi president Saddam Hussein. Tehran radio commentators and mullahs in the mosques contended there was a link between Jordan's appeal to the U.N. to stop Iran from invading Iraq, the delivery of arms by the U.S. to Morocco hectic activity among Persian Gulf Arabs, Sudan President Numeiri's talks with Egypt's Hosni Mubarak, and Israeli "propaganda" on the "supposed" sale of Israeli arms to Iran. And the whole affair, the mullahs claim, has been devised and implemented by the Americans, "whose interests are threatened by the march of Islam."

What amazes ordinary Iranians is the timing of the Israeli disclosures. "Thanks to exile radio stations and the foreign media, we have known of Israeli arms supplies to Khomeyni for some time," one Tehran source told IPS. "But what puzzles us is why, after such a long silence, the Israeli leaders have suddenly decided to make their deals public," he said.

Were Israelis trying to shame the mullahs at the time when they were enjoying their biggest military success? Or were they compelled to announce the sale of arms to Iran because of their own domestic politics?

Some informed Iranians believe that the Israeli defence minister, who was the first to publicly acknowledge the arms sales, did so because he had to defend

his country against accusations by the American press that Israel had reneged on the terms of the sale of U.S. arms. In his statement the Israeli minister disclosed something which was no secret and seemed to be trying to make the whole deal appear of no significance.

A number of exiled Iranians have, meanwhile, criticised the Israelis for their insinuation that a well-armed Iranian army might eventually get the chance to oust the mullahs and take over the reins of power. "Such loose talk by publicity-seeking Israeli politicians is dangerous and stupid," one exile observer said.

Nevertheless, people inside Iran seem to have enjoyed the whole idea of, firstly, Iran buying Israeli arms to defeat the Iraqis, and then the Israelis letting the cat out of the bag at a time when the mullahs were about to boast of "Islam's biggest victory." And the mullahs do seem uneasy and embarrassed by it all. The point is not lost on sceptical ordinary Iranians that Khomeyni, who personally referred to the question of Israeli arms sale, stopped short of an unequivocal denial. Rather, he engaged in polemics and pointless accusations that Saddam was a Zionist and that the ocean would become untouchable if Israelis put even their fingers in it.

Of course the regime's lesser mullahs did deny the news but not Khomeyni himself. If he were to publicly and unqualifiedly deny the news and his clerical opponents were then to produce indisputable evidence that he had bought arms from Israel then Khomeyni would be unequivocally declared a liar and, as such, unfit to be a top spiritual leader.

Syria's Hafez Assad and Libya's Col. Kaddafi have so far had nothing to say about Israeli connections of their non-Arab ally, Ayatollah Khomeyni.

CSO: 4600/560



MULLAHS VIEW OF WORLD POLITICS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 75, 10 Jun 82 pp 4-6

[Text] Speaking at a recent rally Parliament speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani said that once Iran was able to sell sufficient oil there would be plenty of money around to deal with the Islamic regime's domestic and foreign enemies.

"Bani-Sadr (former Islamic Republic president) is as good as a dead body," Rafsanjani said. "We will throw one or two bits of contracts into the lap of the French and in return they will give Bani-Sadr back to us. Then we will put him on trial on charges of murder and terrorism, for which the penalty would be death."

Then, in an afterthought he added: "Oh yes, the French and all the Europeans are materialists pure and simple. They are after money. That is how they are brought up. We know how to deal with them. We have oil which the world cannot do without."

Rafsanjani is one of the three top functionaries of the regime. His cynical view of what motivates the European governments is shared by other functionaries. The regime's foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, advocates a pragmatic policy of favour for favour. Anybody who supports the regime must be duly rewarded. So, atheistic North Korea and Cuba are friends, while Islamic Egypt is an enemy; Christian Brazilians are preferred to some Muslim regimes. Handsome is as handsome does to you. That is why their main ally is the Syrian regime, whose hands are soiled with the blood of fundamentalist Muslims; and Israel is accepted as a trading partner. For the mullahs who rule Iran, the main objective is the survival of their regime. Ideals and doctrines are mere tools, just as repression and terror are also tools. In their foreign policy they stick to no principles; and they adjust their policies as the need may arise. That being so, they have two main policy considerations which they believe to be essential to the survival of their regime. One is their anti-American stance and the other is the rhetoric to export the so-called Islamic revolution. So while the mullahs are pragmatic and regard everything, even the most sacred institutions of the Western democracies, as for sale, they also regard the Americans as very good enemies and very bad friends.

The mullahs have, therefore, a special view of world politics. They think the two superpowers are big elephants who are helpless when they are locked in battle with small bugs. The two giants are engaged in rivalry with one another and their main concern is to check and keep in balance the other rival's moves, but because of the complication of the nuclear deterrent their ability to manoeuvre is limited.

Meanwhile, because the superpowers, especially America, throw their weight around, they are unpopular with many people. So they present a perfect target for verbal abuse and populist slogans, while because of the power situation they find it difficult to retaliate against small countries who verbally abuse them or even chip away at their power. Therefore, the superpowers are good enemies because one can abuse them and even pinch them without the risk of their hitting back, while they are bad friends because, owing to global and many-sided commitments they cannot help friends in local and regional conflicts which have nothing to do with the expansionary moves of the rival superpower. America's immobility in the Arab-Israeli wars, or the Cyprus crisis, and Russia's inability to act in disputes between Iraq and Syria are good examples.

The foregoing is, however, an articulated account of the mullahs' crude concept of world power politics. That being so, they realised from an early stage that their hold on power depended on elimination of a largely American-oriented technocracy which had emerged, of necessity, during the last 20 years of the Shah's rule in Iran. The hierarchy in the mullahcracy consisted of ambitions but basically unqualified people who could never compete with the technocrats of the Shah's regime on the basis of merit. As a result, they had to assault the value system, which had to be based on merit because of the growing technology and complexity of the Shah's development programmes, and qualifications evolved during the constitutional rule. In Iran this value system was branded as Americanism. Thus, the regime was forced to adopt an anti-rhetoric in order to legitimise its assault on the existing technocracy and value system. The Shah's pro-American stance also made the regime's anti-American rhetoric all the more necessary. Finally, the regime had to please its foreign supporters as well as sweep the rug from under the feet of the leftists by associating them with a dangerous enemy.

Once opposition to America became a trademark the regime found it difficult to keep it within the confines of rhetoric. Anti-Americanism acquired an actuality which gained momentum and eventually emerged as a pillar of Khomeyni's foreign policy and the handling of his relations with superpowers. Thus as his anti-Americanism gained intensity, Khomeyni found himself increasingly in accord with the other superpower. Putting his peasant shrewdness to good use he tipped the scale more against America, diluting his anti-Soviet rhetoric in the so-called "No East, No West" foreign policy. This had supporters among his theocratic followers and has now led to the regime's foreign policy tending to become somewhat pro-Soviet in the course of its virulent anti-Americanism.

Meanwhile, the regime's commitment to export its revolution meant efforts at destabilisation of an existing order which was essential to the flow of oil to the West, including the United States. Khomeyni did not wish to disrupt the flow of oil; but he was bent on the changes in the status quo; and his advisers told him that the West's greed for oil would encourage the oil companies to adapt to the regime's demands.

To Khomeyni and his regime, export of the revolution is much more than mere rhetoric; it can be manipulated to divert attention from shortcomings at home; it can provide an outlet for the excess zeal and energies of Iran's revolutionaries; and above all it will provide a support base abroad to be used both for expansionist purposes and for bolstering the regime's position at home.

It so happens that the regime's policy to export the revolution works against the interests of the West, and particularly the United States, and is in favour of the Soviets. Moscow is happy to see the oil-rich Middle East region plunged into chaos, not by Soviet action which might provoke direct American intervention but by a local power with whom the U.S. seems incapable of combatting or treating with.

Khomeyni and his men are not oblivious to the disadvantages of having to earn American wrath. They calculate that the Americans may harm their regime in several ways; they could embark on a destabilisation campaign to help opposition groups outside and inside the country to topple the regime and finally to deny to Iran commercial advantages provided by the American economy. None of these, Khomeyni has often said, however, would harm the regime, while opposing America has many advantages.

The mullahs believe that Americans are incapable of subverting their regime because they are very closely-knit and none of the present leading figures in it could be involved in any American-backed conspiracy. At one time they were worried that the Americans might buy off Bazargan and his foreign minister Ebrahim Yazdi. Now the Bazargan group is closely watched. Then the mullahs were worried the Americans might, through the French and possibly British, give backing to former president Bani-Sadr. That possibility is now so far discounted, the mullahs believing they can even bribe the French into giving Bani-Sadr back to them.

They are also confident that officers like Col. Sayyad-Shirazi will keep the army firmly under control and that they have managed to brainwash the officers and men sufficiently to nip in the bud any plots from that direction. Moreover, they do not need America's advanced technology; for them India and North Korea can supply their needs, and these two countries are not seen as threats to the Islamic republic.

However, they are wary of Western help to the opposition groups, especially the centrists; they are happy to see that republicans and groups like those of Shahpour Bakhtiar and Ahmad Madani are unable to come together as an effective threat to the regime.

Moreover, the mullahs are doing their best to convince the Americans that the only viable opposition to them is the leftist Mojahedin, who have no administrative experience and, at their centre, are even more radical than most of the mullahs. The failure of the mass of Iranians to support the Mojahedin last year has reduced the mullahs' fear of the Mojahedin as a positive threat, however, and their decimation of the Mojahedin's leadership since has confirmed that judgment.

In view of their "No West, No East" slogans the mullahs are mindful, however, that their public anti-Americanism must not give the impression that they have gone over to the other camp. But the fact remains that to them the main enemy is the United States. This is constantly recited in songs (borrowed from the Tudeh Party) broadcast over Tehran radio. America is abused in many of them.

To sum up, the Islamic republic regards America as the number one enemy, Russia as a convenient friend but ideologically misguided, Western Europe as a group of materially-minded traders, and the rest of the world as the domain of the Islamic republic's adventurers.

CSO: 4600/560

# LAST CHANCE FOR BAKHTIAR

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 75, 10 Jun 82 pp 8-10

[Text] With monarchist groups in greater disarray than ever and their supporters becoming more and more disillusioned after the new young Shah's failure to follow up his initiative in visiting London to talk to them, former premier Shahpour Bakhtiar, who heads the National Iranian Resistance Movement, is seen by observers as facing a new and perhaps final opportunity to show he can provide the leadership of the non-leftist exiles that they crave.

With the prospect of an end to the war with Iraq in the foreseeable future it is widely felt among the exiles that Iranians at home will soon make their feelings towards the continued violence and extremist attitudes clear to the ruling mullahs. This, it is thought, could lead to more moderate views winning the day and the country returning to a more normal situation.

This in turn, they feel, could lead to a situation in which, though the clerics still dominate the regime, many people will be able to return; or, even better, there could be an early move towards a more secular form of government as the general public realised more clearly what has overtaken them. In these circumstances, many people feel, it will be important for the genuine nationalists to be more closely grouped to help withstand attempts by the left to seize power, especially that left with close links with Moscow.

The European leftists and also many liberals feel the Mojahedin-e-Khalq, the National Council of Resistance, of which it forms the only really meaningful part, are the most likely nationalist group to gain public support. Much exile opinion takes the view that the Mojahedin leadership is much less pro-Western than some of their supporters here would like to make out. Nor, they claim, would the Mojahedin leadership, on all it has said until Rajavi's recent flirtation with more moderate exiles and European liberals, be likely to implement the kind of liberal democratic system it now claims it wants to embrace.

The behaviour of the Mojahedin leaders, who implemented a policy after Khomeyni's arrival in Tehran which directly led to the deaths of many former officials who are today seen as guilty of no crime, is one part of the movement's history

which they feel Western sympathisers with the movement should note. Rajavi is also said to have admitted being responsible for the apprehension of nationalists involved in an anti-Khomeyni plot who were later executed.

"Rajavi has changed his tune considerably since the European leftists got at him in Paris," one Iran watcher told IPS. "But leopards don't change their spots, especially when they have shown their unscrupulousness in betraying those who are the enemies of their enemies as well as the enemies themselves. Nor has he or what is left of his leadership the kind of experience that would allow him and his movement to survive the political pressures that will be on any new government in Iran."

Others, however, suggest that the decimation of the active Mojahedin leadership leaves Rajavi no alternative but to accept the fact that his political future can only depend for some time to come on his developing a relationship with those nationalists who are less Marxist in outlook than he has shown himself to be in the past. The great mass of the support for the Mojahedin is amongst young people who are purely nationalist and who are less concerned with dogma than with their need to identify with a nationalist movement--and the Mojahedin is the only one that has given young people a chance to play any part, it is pointed out. Older Iranians are uninterested in political ideologies, and will not quit their prudent attachment to a familiar movement in Islam for the sake of an unpredictable political one.

It is because of this attitude among older Iranians, even more marked after their exhausting experience under rulers who are radical for the sake of it, that many nationalists saw the monarchy as a weapon for replacing the clergy once the latter could be displaced. The monarchy's familiar, ancient image would provide some reassurance for people terrorised by the clerics and their zealots and if used subtly could provide the means for ensuring the left would not get public support.

Shahpour Bakhtiar has shown that he, too, sees the monarchy could be used as a significant part of a nationalist movement, for he has avoided any deliberate public break with the Shah and his aides even though he has continued to attack the past regimes in Iran. Although he has himself been attacked by a wide range of monarchist and other nationalist figures, he has avoided gratuitously offending most of them in public utterances.

But his National Iranian Resistance Movement has failed to develop into the all-embracing nationalist and opposition movement that it once had the potential for. It has failed to keep a great deal of the wide support it enjoyed soon after Bakhtiar set up his headquarters in Paris after leaving Iran. And it has failed to attract support from Western governments or other bodies who have looked to see if there was an effective opposition group which might replace the Khomeyni regime.

If Bakhtiar has failed to establish a working relationship with other exile opposition figures that is more likely their fault than his. For they have all provided evidence that they are not prepared to allow him to take any senior position to them, even though he has by far the best organisation and resources, and also more potential to obtain widespread backing than any of the rest. The refusal to allow Bakhtiar, who has a clean record with Iranians, to take that lead is a reflection of the political immaturity of the other contenders, and their inability to accept any of the limitations which any democratic apparatus requires. Too little has been revealed by Ali Amini, the veteran statesman who led efforts to bring the opposition groups together, for people to make a judgment on whether his own desire to have senior status was a factor in the breakdown of his efforts. But generally it seems to have been the ambitions of each of the principals which was the stumbling block to even a *modus vivendi* among the different groups.

Bakhtiar has a unwieldy organisation in Paris which, exasperated would-be activists for his movement contend, is staffed largely by unimaginative and ineffectual individuals in the seemingly inept National Front mould who have proved incapable of utilising the resources of the exile communities. Hundreds of enthusiastic and bright younger people claim they have run into a brick wall when they have offered their services to him. All they needed, they say, is for some framework to be provided for their voluntary efforts but it has never materialised.

They also complain that Bakhtiar is unapproachable and seems unaware of the reality of his situation as a result. They say talking to aides on whom they are fobbed off is no different than talking to those people they were fobbed off with in the administration of the late Shah. The mere fact that they are asked to talk to petitioners implies to the aides that the supplicants must be got rid of.

While it is obvious that many of the complaints against Bakhtiar are merely sour grapes and spending the day talking to an unending stream of callers would hardly be a way of establishing a more efficient organisation, it is obvious he needs to put some new fire into his movement if he is to take the new opportunity being provided for him by events inside and outside Iran.

In the present circumstances in the region, it is obvious that the United States and some of its allies must try to foresee events, and to see who and what may be significant cards in the pack in the months or years to come. Had the potential of Shahpour Bakhtiar been appreciated in the West earlier, and even some noticeable backing given him, then there is no doubt the exiles would have gathered around him.

Bakhtiar's failure to get that support seems largely due to his or his advisers' failure to see how governments are influenced in democratic societies. They are largely influenced by their need to survive, and to do that they must do what the public requires of them. If the American public, for example,



had known more about Shahpour Bakhtiar and the true situation in Iran when the former Iranian premier came to Paris then they may have encouraged their officials to take him more seriously. Unfortunately Bakhtiar failed to create the kind of publicity or propaganda apparatus later to do that job. While one understands the need for him to put himself over to Iranians outside as well as inside Iran he has virtually no foreign language propaganda that could put him over to the public in the West and cause their officials to take more notice of him.

That the Mojahedin-e-Khalq and members of the National Resistance Council have understood how to go about getting Western support is obvious from the widescale campaign they have launched throughout Europe and the United States. They have also understood the immense power participation in a movement puts at its disposal--and the rank and file of the Mojahedin are what gives it its significance. It is a genuine political movement, not merely a headquarters sponsoring a few desultory activities and news sheets.

The advance of the Mojahedin in attracting support from both exile communities and foreigners is now proceeding at such a pace that this is probably the last chance for genuine, as distinct from ideological, nationalists to show they could be an even more potent force if organised for a future role in Iran. Bakhtiar should now show his qualifications for leadership are real and should try to harness all these forces.

He must revitalise his movement, realise that it is his responsibility as the head of it to see it works effectively, not the responsibility of those who work for him. He has the means to organise the intellectual resources of the exile communities into an instrument that can help the Western world realise it is in their interests to adopt a thoroughly constructive and objective view of the situation of Iran and Iranians. He should have concentrated on this before.

If he or somebody else doesn't get down to the task now there is no alternative to the majority of the exiles giving their wholehearted support to the National Council of Resistance. Because if it does obtain crucial Western support it could be the only vehicle left for Iran ridding itself of the mullahs.

CSO: 4600/560

LAW TO NATIONALIZE FOREIGN TRADE PUBLISHED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 31 May, 1 Jun 82

[31 May 82 p 4]

[Text]

**Section B — Duties and Authorities of Export Centers.**

**Article 5:**

The Ministry of Commerce is duty bound to establish the export centers for all the goods that are exported from the country after the approval of the statutes, within a maximum of four months after the approval of the executive regulations of this law. Each export center is duty bound to undertake the following matters regarding the goods that are the subject of its activities.

- a) Estimate and forecasting of export activities.
- b) Cooperation and taking necessary action for guidance, protection and promotion of production for purpose of export.
- c) Cooperation in the accomplishment of tasks that are connected with the standard of exportable goods.
- d) Purchase of domestic goods for export.
- e) Maintenance and protection.
- f) Carrying out the relevant customs affairs
- g) Marketing in foreign countries.
- h) Export
- i) Control and supervision over the exportation of others.

Note: 1. If necessary, the Ministry of Commerce shall establish commercial service companies for exports for the purpose of discharging a part of the above duties, on the basis of this law and the relevant statute which is to be prepared by the Ministry of Commerce and approved by the Majlis.

Note: 2 Each of the purchase and export centers, as the occasion demands, will be merged with each other, at the suggestion of Ministry of Commerce and approval of the general assembly of the centers, in which case they will remain as the foreign trade center subject of their activities, and the relevant statutes shall be prepared by the Ministry of Commerce and ratified by the Majlis.

Note: 3 Henceforth in this Law instead of "center of purchase, center of exports and centers of foreign trade" and word "centers" will be briefly used.

**Article 6**

After their formation, the export centers are duty bound to effect independently the export of all quantities of the exported goods from every item of the goods that are subject of activities within a maximum of four years.

Note: 1 As long as each of the export centers has not independently undertaken the export of all quantities of

exported goods from those that are the subject of its activities, then the export of those goods shall be effected by other sectors (public cooperative and private), only under the supervision and control of that center. The extent, conditions and the manner of supervision and control shall be determined in the executive regulations of this law.

Note: 2 The export of special goods that are the subject of activities of ministries as well as the governmental organizations, institutes and companies that undertake to export the above goods, in accordance with special laws, is not covered by the regulations contained in this article and its notes, and shall be effected with the information of, and coordination with, the centers. The manner of coordination shall be on the basis of the regulations to be approved by the general assembly of the centers.

Note: 3 The export centers are duty bound to suggest to the supreme council of centers, the names and the kinds the part of goods which are covered by their activities and which they can undertake to export independently, and to announce them for public information, after the confirmation of the council and the approval of the general assembly of the centers.

[1 Jun 82 p 4]

[Text] Article 7:

Regarding the internal purchase of the goods the subject of their activities, the export centers are duty-bound to observe the priority of the purchase of goods from producers.

NOTE:- The export centers are duty-bound to purchase and export those goods that conform with standards determined by the Institute of Standards and Industrial Research of Iran.

Article 8:

The Institute of Standards and Industrial Research is duty-bound to specify and announce the official standards of all kinds of exported goods that are determined by the Ministry of Economy, and to provide necessary facilities for conforming of the samples of export goods with the announced standards, and also for issuance of relevant certificates.

Article 9:

For the purpose of creation of necessary facilities for supply of goods by producers, the export centers are, wherever deemed necessary, to establish branches and agencies, at the suggestion of the High Councils of Centers and/or the Ministry of Economy, and/or Ministry of Industries and/or the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development and/or the Ministry of Mines and Metals, and the approval of General Assembly of Centers.

Article 10:

Subject to the permission of Ministry of Commerce the cooperative and private units can, out of the foreign exchange acquired for the export of goods the subject of their activities, import, through the purchase centers, the

production machinery as determined by the Ministry of Industries and on the basis of relevant regulations.

#### Section C--Joint Affairs of Centers

##### Article 11:

Every center is a corporate body, formed and administered as a limited liability company, affiliated to the Ministry of Commerce, and all its shares belong to the government.

##### Article 12:

The General Assembly of the Centers, consisting of the Minister of Commerce, as chairman, the Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, the Head of Plan and Budget Organization, the Minister of Industries, the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Governor of Bank Markazi Iran, shall be formed to discharge the duties which are entrusted to it in accordance with the Law.

NOTE:- 1--The General Assembly of the Centers shall discharge the duties of the General Assembly of each center as well.

Note:-2--With the exception of the Minister of Commerce, every member of the General Assembly can nominate one of his deputies as his fully authorized representative to attend the General Assembly in emergency cases.

CSO: 4600/528

## FOREIGN TRADE TO UNDERGO BASIC EVOLUTION

Tehran IRAN PRESS DIGEST in English 25 May 82 pp 5-8

[Text]

The Bill on Nationalisation of Foreign Trade was ratified by the Islamic Consultative Assembly by a decisive vote. With the endorsement of this Bill, the commercial & foreign trade system of the country is to undergo fundamental changes as the Government, by controlling the import and export of goods, would check the extraordinary influence of the private sector capitalists on trade. The Foreign Trade Nationalisation Bill has been formulated on the basis of preventing the economic, political & cultural domination of global imperialism and aliens over this country. This Law gives priority to the oppressed and Muslim nations of the world in carrying out commercial transactions. Hence, Muslim states of the third world would have closer ties with us in trade exchanges, and on account of an all-out supervision of the Government over foreign trade, the import of non-essential commodities from imperialist states would be totally blocked. Based on the Foreign Trade Nationalisation Bill, the economic programs of the Government would be highlighted by the support of domestic products, bringing about a balance in imports & exports, and non-reliance upon a single-commodity export.

With the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the task of bringing about basic changes in the economic system of the country was taken up as one of the most important and revolutionary programs in the society. The grand Islamic Revolution that put an end to the political and military bases of US imperialism in Iran, was bound to pace up its activities in economic and cultural fields, so as to do away with similar bases in these two spheres. There were initiated various plots of US imperialism, from the outset of the Islamic Revolution, for annihilating it, and these included political as well as economic designs. The Foreign Trade Nationalisation Bill, in its capacity as one of the infrastructural programs, attracted attention of the Government officials from the early months of the victory of the Revolution. Eruption of the imposed war and various political plots of US imperialism inside Iran blocked the speedy ratification and implementation. Under such conditions, private sector capitalists, by having their control over foreign trade, inflicted the worst blows on the ailing and foreign-linked Iranian economy. Lack of a specific commercial system based on accurate supervision over the mode of import of goods

and raw materials as well as economic issues culminating from the war, led to a short supply of many consumer goods and their high prices. Private sector traders made profits by way of hoarding goods and by raising their prices abnormally. These traders, who controlled over 71% of the country's imports in the last three quarters of 1980, were one of the main elements for the economic crisis. This group by associating itself with 7 Imperialist states, imported their desired goods and raw materials for the factories, and thus pressurised the oppressed masses of the society. Under conditions when many Iranians were and are being martyred in the imposed war, the capitalist hoarders, plunderers and profiteers, by hoarding goods and creating artificial short supply, were and are adding to the economic problems.

In the light of the above facts, the implementation of the Foreign Trade Nationalisation Bill should act as putting an end to the domination of the plunderers over our trade. The overall supervision of the Government over foreign trade can be instrumental in breaking the high prices and eliminating inflation to a large extent. To have a closer look at the affairs, we had a conversation with Mr. Rouhanipour, Head of the Consumers Protection Organisation. On the effects of the nationalisation of foreign trade on bringing down the commodity prices, he says: "With the nationalisation of foreign trade, various purchase centers of the Commerce Ministry would be planning imports, and it would have a direct effect of lowering the prices in the sense that with the nationalisation of foreign trade there would no more be paid large sums of foreign exchange as "demurrage" on the waiting charges of the vessels. Further, stabilised rates can be announced for the imported basic goods and hence their fluctuating prices in the interior of the country can be checked. Another effect of this Law in lowering the commodity prices lies in the fact that initially, the clearance of imported goods would be done by the "servicing companies", thus economising on the incurring expenditures. Secondly, because of the elimination of the intermediaries in the purchase of goods, there would be no payment of commission to the representatives of foreign firms. Consequently, the goods would reach consumers at cheap rates. Another effect of this Law in the economic and financial system is that all the revenues obtained from the imports would be directly deposited by the purchase centers with the government exchequer. Hence the import ban on private sector would permit the Government to apply a guiding strategy to private sector capital towards production. This, in itself, would help raise the employment level in the society".

On another economic effect of the Foreign Trade Nationalisation Law, Rouhanipour says: "There would, by virtue of this Law, and with a shift in the consumption model, and greater supply of raw materials to factories, maximum restriction would be imposed on the import of foreign manufactures. This would contribute to the attainment of a policy on economic independence and self-sufficiency of industries. Also, our asso-



clation with one or **several** countries and the super-powers in imports would be checked, and our foreign trade would be in line with the principle of politico-economic independence and "Neither East, Nor West" strategy. Finally, with the cheaper prices of imported goods, many of the bottlenecks in purchasing goods from abroad would be removed".

Improvement of the domestic distribution network and a close link of this network with the foreign trade are among the issues that should be paid due attention in the nationalisation of foreign trade. Continued link of the cooperative sector with the nationalised foreign trade would constitute one of the adequate channels for domestic distribution. As claimed by the Head of the National Cooperative Organisation (NCO) the Commerce Ministry would set up adequate channels through expanding the cooperative network. Salyed Abbas Hosseini, the Head of NCO, in a conversation with us, says: "As you are already aware, under principle 44 of the Constitution, the foreign trade would be nationalised as the related bill which has been approved by the Majlis is to be notified to the Government for implementation shortly. Under this Law, till the time the Government attains the required capability in administering import-export business, the cooperative sector would get the priority over the private sector. As to the domestic distribution process, the Commerce Ministry too would give priority to the cooperative societies. In case we don't have an adequate and organised distribution system domestically while nationalising the foreign trade, the capital released from foreign trade would be put domestically in the cooperative sector with the result that there would be a greater amount of goods in circulation, putting more inflationary burden upon the consumer. To cut it short, it must be said that the released capital would be seeking its profits in domestic trade. Such a phenomenon is not in the interest of the oppressed masses. Hence, the Commerce Ministry would act to create distribution channels in the form of cooperatives....".

Concerning the creation of adequate distribution channels domestically, the NCO Chief adds: "We first stated that the distribution cooperatives are the helping hands of the nationalised foreign trade. If a proper distribution system is not set up along side the nationalised foreign trade, then it would mean that the Government or the nation would only be serving the cause of the traders by purchasing the best goods from abroad and putting it at the disposal of traders at the country's borders. In my opinion, formation of cooperative would check such a trend. On the expansion of the distribution cooperatives, I must say that we shall set up guild cooperatives with the participation of the members of each guild. Such cooperatives would be involved with the distribution of the imported goods. These guild cooperatives, set up at provincial level in order to boost their economic viability, can establish a cooperative societies union. Under the very program, a total of 1,614 guild distribution cooperative societies have been set up thus far. The local consumer cooperatives too, would be involved in the domestic distribution system as an adjustment lever. Presently, the number of local consumer cooperatives in Tehran and other cities of Iran stands at 1,311".



Based on Article 3 of the **Foreign Trade Nationalisation Law**, various purchase **centers** would be set up to purchase and import goods. All such centers for the purchase of all imported goods must be set up within 4 months of the approval of the regulations on implementation of the Foreign Trade Nationalisation Law by the Commerce Ministry. Under the provisions of article 4 of the said Law, every purchase center is dutybound to directly purchase, within four months of its establishment, all the imported goods needed by the country. Under Note 1 of Article 4, till the time every purchase center hasn't taken over the direct purchase of all imported goods, such purchases should be undertaken by the public, cooperative and private sectors under the supervision of these centers. Considering the contents of the Article 4 of the said Law, till the time foreign trade hasn't come 100% under state control, the cooperative and private sectors would carry out its functions. Under such conditions, in order to make the private sector lose the capacity to be active, the cooperative sector should be expanded to work alongside the public sector in trade affairs.

The NCO Head Salyed Abbas Hosselni, concerning the link of the cooperative system with the purchase centers, says: "This link is debatable in two phases. The first phase concerns the time given by the Government for nationalising all aspects of the foreign trade. The second phase is the passage of this time and full nationalisation of foreign trade. So, in the second phase, when the Commerce Ministry fully takes over foreign trade, the link of industrial cooperation societies with the purchase centers would be discontinued. Also, as to the link of the cooperative system with the "Servicing Companies", I must say that the "Servicing Companies" would first get their orders from the cooperative sector and present the same to the purchase centers. When the goods are imported and are put at the disposal of these companies, they would preferably put the same at the cooperative sector".

Under Article 19 of the said Law, the "Trade Servicing Companies" are to be set up to anticipate consumption needs and accept the orders put by the three sectors. They are legally bound to put at fixed prices all the goods at the disposal of public cooperative and private sectors respectively. As to pricing of goods, all commodities have been put in 10 to 12 categories and are priced by the Consumer Protection Organisation of the Commerce Ministry. As already said, till the time foreign trade is not fully nationalised, the cooperative sector would play an important role in the import and export of goods. At present, the Economic Infrastructure Commission and the Central Cooperative Organisation are presently busy formulating a draft bill on setting up the cooperative Ministry, and on determining the role of the cooperative system in national economy. This Ministry aims at bringing about the required coordination among various cooperative units, apart from imparting cooperative training and having supervision over all the cooperatives in line with the Islamic criteria (Kayhan, May 17).

# WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX EXAMINED

Tehran IRAN PRESS DIGEST in English 25 May 82 p 12

[Text]

The wholesale price Index of goods (WPID) in Iran during the month of Esfand 1360 (Feb.-March 1982) stood at 301.8 showing a rise of 2.2% over the preceding month and a hike of 12.4% over the corresponding month of 1359. During that month, the WPID, after eliminating the seasonable fluctuations was at a level of 2.7% higher than the previous month of Bahman. On the whole, the WPID of goods in Iran, on an average, rose by 19.4% in 1360 as compared to the previous year. The rise in WPID of goods in the said month resulted more from the hike in the prices of fresh fruits & vegetables, red meat, and cotton that caused over 64% increase in the price index. Moreover, prices of rice, barley, wheat flour, grains, cattle, ginned wool, thread and carpet.

In the said month, the WPID of goods produced and consumed domestically stood at 336.2 showing a rise of 2.6% as compared to Bahman. The rise was caused by a boost in the prices of rice, barley, wheat flour, grains, dairy products, cattle, thread, carpet and cable. The price index in this group of goods indicates a rise of 13.5% over that of last year.

IMPORTED GOODS: The WPID of Imported goods in Esfand went up by 0.4% which was due to the rise of the price of tea, cement, chinaware, wool and barometer. In this group of goods, prices of cloth and lumber registered decline. Minus seasonal fluctuations, WPID in this group shows 0.5% rise while it indicates 7.2% rise as compared to the corresponding month of 1359.

EXPORTED GOODS: The WPID showed 2.5% rise, mostly due to a hike in carpet, gum & Salambor. Minus seasonal fluctuations, the WPID showed a rise of 3.2% over the previous month and 20.1% over the corresponding month of 1359.

FOODSTUFF AND LIVE CATTLE: In the said month, WPID of foodstuff and live cattle rose by 3.5% over Bahman which was mostly due to the hike in prices of fresh fruits and vegetables by 6.5%, of meat, chicken, fish & their products by 1.1%, of grains by 5.5%, of dairy products & eggs by 3.1%, of shortening & animal oil by 1.1%, of spices, tea, coffee & cocoa by 1.1% and of live cattle by 1.3%. Minus seasonal fluctuations, the WPID of this group rose by 2.6% as compared to Bahman and by 13.8% to Bahman 1359.

TEXTILES AND GARMENTS: Due to the rise of 2.7% in prices of cotton and wool; 1.1% in thread & garments; and 5.3% in carpets, the WPID in this group rose to 1.2%. The price for cotton and silk yarn rose by 1.7%. Minus seasonal fluctuations, the WPID showed a rise of 2.3% over Bahman 1360 and of 20.8% over Bahman 1359.

MACHINE TOOLS & AUTOMOBILES: In this month, the WPID of goods in this group rose by 3% due to hike in machine tools and electrical goods prices by 0.5%, and automobiles by 0.7%. The WPID here rose by 10.5% as compared to Bahman 1359.

FARM AND CATTLE PRODUCTS: Their WPID rose by 4.2% due to a rise in agricultural goods prices by 4.9%, and in cattle & fish products by 1.5%. Minus seasonal fluctuations, the WPID in this month rose by 3.7% over last month and by 14.6% over Bahman 1359. (Ettela'at, May 16).

CSO: 4600/555

IRAN NATIONAL STUDIES NATURAL GAS FOR COAL FUEL

Tehran IRAN PRESS DIGEST in English 25 May 82 pp 10-11

[Text]

With a view to utilise the country's rich natural gas resources and also to check air pollution, the committed and sincere specialists of the Designing and Research Division of the Iran National Automobile Industries (INAI) have succeeded in converting the M-360 diesel engine fuel, at present being the gas oil, into natural gas fuel. Also the designers at INAI have successfully manufactured an engine testing machinery for the first time ever in Iran.

Dr. Engineer Lotfollah Tour Savadkouhi, Head of the INAI Designing and Research Division, and the inventor of the plan to convert gas oil fuel into natural gas fuel, told our reporter: "This conversion plan, presently carried out on M-302 automobiles, is, in fact, aimed at attaining self-sufficiency and utilisation of a cheap and clean fuel which would, in the first degree, not require us to import gas oil for such consumption, and would also play an effective role in eliminating air pollution. It is also economical due to our country's being endowed with large deposits of natural gas. This plan has been prepared solely by Iranian specialists after going through a series of successful tests. Talks have already been held with the Tabriz Machine Tools Factory in connection with the manufacturing of this project. It is for the first time ever that this plan has been implemented in Iran. It must be mentioned that in order to carry out this fuel conversion process, there is no need to import various spare parts and implements from abroad since all involved machineries are being manufactured in Iran". As to the conversion of some sections of gas oil-operated engines into natural gas ones, he said: "The injector pump of M-360 engine has been taken out and duly replaced by the spark combustion system". He added that apart from the fact that the natural-gas operated engine is 50% less noisy than the gas oil engine, it also begins to function with a single start. Dr. Engineer Savadkouhi, while referring to the production of the machine for testing the engine power, pointed out: "We have reached the conclusion that the INAI, after

a 15-year-long association with the industrialised states, is very ill-equipped in terms of possessing technical information. Because of the fact that this plant didn't have any device or implement to test the engine power, the foreign manufacturers delivered engines to this plant with less motive power. Due to this very reason, arrangements were made to design plans for manufacturing engine testing machinery which has, at present, been installed at INAI and we are very much satisfied with its functioning. This machine can work to a maximum of 10 thousand rounds and apply brakes of upto 80 HP. It needs no electric power as it uses water to function. We need no foreign imports to produce this machine. This machine helped us in assessing the motive power of the engines purchased from abroad. Upon finding the imported engines to be of less motive power, we were enabled to claim damages from the manufacturing plants and forced them to pay us the relevant fines. Such a phenomenon took place for the first time ever at INAI".

On the double-cylinder engine plan and the mode of using the same, he said: The double cylinder engine plan has been designed for the 1600 model engines. This type of engine can be installed on a thrasher, on rural transport vehicles and generator pump etc. All the spare parts and machines used in this two-cylinder engine are being produced domestically, and there is no need for any imports.

Dr. Engineer Savadkouhi, with regard to the use of Peugeot engine on Paykan automobiles, said: "After installing the Peugeot engine upon Paykan automobiles and carrying out several tests, we have reached the conclusion that the first two phases of the Peugeot motor system cannot be installed upon Paykan automobiles because it needs greater space, and in the next phase, it is uneconomical because of excessive expenditures and replacement of some sensitive motor parts. But installation of the Gallant car engine upon Paykan is more practical, and we have already undertaken studies on it. Of course, it must be mentioned that only research work is being carried out on it".

He then referred to the production of vanets having extended chassis, and noted: "The plan on vanets having extended chassis was undertaken at INAI three years ago. The present type of vanet, although functioning nicely, is, in fact, something that has been produced on Paykan automobiles, and has a number of problems due to the disregard of some technical matters. In the vanet having a chassis, the suspension system and the motive power are installed over the chassis and the luggage section is completely separated from that of the driver. There is a plan under way in which we would be able to convert the 1600 Model engine into the 1850 Model engine for being used in Paykan vanet. We have done our best

to eliminate the existing weak points of the old design. Its wheel ring is being enlarged so that it could make use of bigger tyres for rural and highway transportation". He added: "This type of vanet can be easily converted into ambulance all parts of which are manufactured domestically. Moreover, because of its power of resistance in terms of chassis as well as the motive power, it can be applied to manufacture 12-seater taxis for use in cities. The fuel tank of Peykan vanet has an increased intake of upto 65 litres. Moreover, safety precautions have also been maintained in devising a natural gas tank for it so that the same could be easily used upon conversion into a gas-operated engine". He stressed that the chassis of this vanet is very simple and can be produced domestically. It can be said that this is a cent per cent Iranian plan and would involve no foreign dependence in case of its implementation. He also noted that the INAI Design and Research Division is working on a plan under which the Peykan brake system could be switched from the front wheel to the rear one in order to guarantee greater safety. While lauding the martyr-nurturing Iranian nation and the self-sacrifices of the combatants of Islam in the warfronts, he added: "Our activities aimed at severing our foreign dependence, are negligible in comparison to the sacrifices of all of our Muslim and revolutionary countrymen. However, we think that this plant, in itself, is a front where measures are being taken to advance the Revolution and to defeat the arrogant powers". (Kayhan, May 4, 1982).

CSO: 4600/554

# OIL DEALS WITH BRAZIL REVIEWED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 31 May 82 pp 6-7

[Text]

Brazil is expected to resume oil imports from Iran, following an Iranian proposal to sell its crude oil to the state-owned oil company Petrobras for \$30.60 per barrel. This would undercut by about 10 per cent the prices charged by other Middle Eastern producers, which are based on the OPEC benchmark price of \$34 a barrel for Saudi Arabian Light. While Petrobras seems certain to accept the Iranian offer, it is not yet clear what quantities it will buy. Petrobras currently imports 750,000 b/d of oil. Iranian Oil Minister Mohammed Gharazi stopped off in Brasilia last week, following the recent OPEC meeting in Quito.

Iraq has hitherto been Brazil's first or second placed oil supplier, but Brazilian officials appear confident that trading relations with Iran's opponent in the Gulf war will be unaffected by the deal. However, Brazilian oil imports from Iraq were recently cut from 210,000 b/d to 160,000 b/d, apparently because Iraq is experiencing technical problems with production. But there were also reports from Brasilia that Brazil wants to increase its purchases of crude from Saudi Arabia, its other main oil supplier. This may have been one of the topics discussed by Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, who also took the opportunity to visit Brazil after the OPEC gathering, as did the Oil Ministers of Iraq and Libya. The Libyan delegation is reported to have signed a technical cooperation agreement on oil exploration in Libya with Petrobras.

Prior to the outbreak of the Gulf war in September 1980, Iran was Brazil's third largest oil supplier, with volumes running as high as 100,000 b/d. But last year, Brazil bought no oil at all from Iran and exports to Iran fell to \$194.5 million, compared with \$238.5 million the previous year.

Brazil is aware that Iran's post-war reconstruction drive may offer lucrative possibilities for contractors and manufacturers of foodstuffs, industrial raw materials and



manufactured goods. It is also anxious to explore new commodity markets, especially in view of a recent US decision to impose quotas on sugar imports. Two months ago there were reports that Iran was threatening to halt its annual imports of \$600 million worth of sugar unless Brazil agreed to accept crude oil in payment. Then, it was suggested that Iran was offering 300,000 b/d of crude oil for three years at \$27 a barrel. A member of Iran's OPEC delegation, Dr Ali Shams Ardekani denied this, saying that the price for both the oil and sugar should be fixed according to the international market. However, he admitted that Iran had agreed to calculate prices in local currency, taking the dollar interest rate into account (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, April 5).

Iran is reported to have offered Brazil a major share in a programme to rebuild its economy and Brazil's ability to take advantage of this will be tested in the months to come as contracts are awarded. With its Third World credentials, Brazil is thought to be well-placed to grasp the opportunities offered by the desire of the Islamic revolutionary régime in Tehran to reduce its trade dependence on the West. But boosting oil imports from Iran and Saudi Arabia is bound to have some effect on Brazil's own stated goals of reducing its dependence on imported oil and on Middle Eastern suppliers in particular. Brazil has a trade deficit with Arab oil producing countries in the region of \$6.5 billion.

An Iranian trade delegation led by Deputy Commerce Minister Mozafar Jahrani signed agreements covering the purchase of \$200 million worth of Brazilian goods during its recent visit to the country. A member of the delegation is reported to have said that Iran wants to buy \$400 million worth of goods, including tractors, trucks, steel and sugar, during the next nine months. Purchases of sugar and soyabean oil and meal were also discussed. Brazilian exports to Iran last year consisted mainly of animal feed and foodstuffs.

Brazil is hoping that, like some other countries, it will be able to develop economic links with Tehran without damaging the partnership it has built up with Iraq over the past 10 years. It began in 1972 with an exploration and production agreement between Petrobras and the Iraq National Oil Company (INOC), resulting in the discovery in 1976 of the large Majnoon field with a production capacity of 700,000 b/d. Although Petrobras eventually relinquished its rights to the field, which was subsequently damaged in the Gulf war, it secured guaranteed supplies of 160,000 b/d of Iraqi oil for the next 13 years. By the beginning of the Gulf war, Brazil was receiving about half its oil imports from Iraq.

The oil-based relationship led to several major non-oil export deals and contracts, the most important of which was a \$1.5 billion contract with Construtora Mendes Junior to build a 520-kilometre rail link between the phosphate deposits at Husaiba and a fertiliser factory

being built in Al-Qaim. Mendes Junior won a further \$280 million contract in February last year to build a 128-kilometre highway. But since then, Brazil has not managed to win any other major contracts in Iraq.

Brazil has, however, benefited from Iraq's needs for military supplies and its desire to reduce its dependence on Soviet-supplied weaponry. In 1978, Iraq bought 200 Cascavel armoured cars from Brazil and in 1980 purchased another 2,000 military vehicles, including trucks. Of these, about half were believed to be either Cascavels or Sucuruis, another light armoured vehicle. These deals made Iraq the leading customer for Brazil's developing arms industry. Brazil is also involved in nuclear cooperation with Iraq.

Brazilian exports to Iraq include sugar, soya and coffee. The Brazilian state-owned mining concern Companhia Vale do Rio Doce has a five-year contract to supply Iraq with 5.3 million tonnes of iron ore pellets. But trade has not developed as rapidly as Brazil had anticipated.

Meanwhile, there were hopes that the visit to Brazil last week of Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani would result in Saudi investment in the large mining complex being developed at Carajas in the Amazon basin, in addition to increased purchases of Saudi crude oil. Saudi Arabia is currently Brazil's leading supplier of oil. According to Celso Diniz, Brazil's ambassador in Riyadh, imports of Saudi crude are running at 300,000 b/d, of which 50,000 b/d are sold directly by the state-run Saudi petroleum concern Petromin to Petrobras.

Mr Diniz was quoted by the Jeddah-based *Saudi Gazette* as saying that Brazilian imports from Saudi Arabia had doubled from the 1980 total of \$2.18 billion to \$3.96 billion in 1981. The value of Brazilian exports to the Kingdom had risen from \$32 million in 1979, to \$96 million in 1980 and \$161 million last year, the envoy added. While Brazil is keen to redress the imbalance in trade by winning contracts and export deals in Saudi Arabia, Mr Diniz told the *Saudi Gazette*, "We are not entertaining any fantasies."

## BRIEFS

IRAQI MISSILE HIT--The fate of a Greek sailor and of two others is not known following the incident during which a missile fired from an Iraqi plane hit the Greek cargo ship "Good Luck" yesterday morning while it was sailing off the Iranian port of Bandar Khomeyni. The Ministry of Merchant Marine announced last night that the Greek sailor who disappeared is Nikolaos Trepeklis, 34. Following the incident, the 22 surviving members of the crew abandoned the ship, which was taken over by an Iranian war ship and towed to the Persian Gulf. Because of difficulty in communicating with the area, no details have been announced so far, but according to some information, another Greek sailor was wounded during the explosion and fire aboard the ship. [Text] [Athens TA NEA in Greek 8 Jun 82 p 1]

CSO: 4621/390

## KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT URGED TO ESTABLISH NEW SETTLEMENTS

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 21 Apr 82 p 5

[Article by M.P. Yakov Zur: "Settlements To Guarantee the Peace"]

[Text] Today the nucleus of the United Kibbutz Movement will gather at Kibbutz Yotvetah in the Arava to approve the movement's settlement plan for the next 5 years. In this plan, the movement takes upon itself the task of establishing 20 new kibbutz settlements in the Galilee, the Negev, the Arava, the Yatir region, the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights.

The plan is mainly a continuation of the settlement activities of the movement in recent years and the determination of settlement sites is linked to the political viewpoint of the kibbutz movement and the Labor Party. The implementation of this plan--and at the same time the continued development of the settlements that have been established in the last decade--will oblige the kibbutz movement to undertake a great internal effort and demonstrate a willingness to recruit members and sons from the established kibbutzim to the new settlements. The movement will have to intensify educational activity in the youth movement and provide large budgets from its own sources to establish the settlements, since nowadays the government grants budgetary preference to the development of settlements in Judea and Samaria. Despite the anticipated difficulties, fulfillment of the plan is a feasible objective.

The plan is presented to the movement's leadership after a thorough examination of settlement data concerning the various sites and with detailed planning of the movement's manpower reserves and an evaluation of the financial resources required for its implementation. The great unknown is the extent of aid and response of the government and the settlement department to the implementation of this plan. For that, the movement will have to continue to wrestle with government offices and departments of the Jewish Agency.

### An Unconventional Plan

The plan is unconventional in its scope and deployment, first of all in the political implications stemming from the timing in which it is brought to a decision and in which it is to be implemented. The executive of the United Kibbutz Movement is meeting a few days before the withdrawal from the Yamit

region, while wrecking crews are destroying the last houses, cranes are uprooting rows of trees and the desert is returning to take over a flowering settlement. Only during the last few weeks, when the evacuation became a physical reality, were the full national political and educational ramifications of the Yamit settlement evacuation exposed.

The sights of the evacuation, the weeping eyes during the departure from Ofira, emphasized the pain and upheaval, but more than that they again raised a question mark concerning the future of the regions and settlements that stand as security for a peaceful era--the Jordan Valley, the Golan Heights and the Etzion Block.

The decision to continue settlements in these regions precisely now is mainly an expression of nonacceptance by the kibbutz movement of the implications of the precedent set by the uprooting of Yamit. Taking responsibility for implementing this plan signifies the vigor of the kibbutz movement position that Israel must protect itself during peace with defensible borders, that one does not draw inferences from the Rafiah salient to the Jordan Valley, Golan Heights, Etzion Block and Jerusalem. The meaning of the plan is that we are convinced that the settlements will play a vital role in the struggle for peace, security and the fashioning of permanent borders, if the settlement activities are combined with correct policy by the Israeli Government.

The continuation of settlement activity at this time also counteracts many voices that, to my sorrow, come mainly from the labor movement and that accept the fact of the evacuation of settlements as the only possible pattern for peace in other regions as well. They don't do it maliciously (although at times their words have that sound) but supposedly as an expression of political reality, as the only approach that counts, in their opinion, if one wants to continue with the peace process. From here the road is not far to viewing the settlements as being equally as important as peace or if not, God forbid, as obstacles to peace.

#### A Responsible Settlement Map

In these days, on the eve of the final withdrawal, it becomes clearer how much ensuring the stability of peace requires the existence of strategic security balances and determination of secure borders that will ensure the expected peace. The settlement map projected in this plan--and in the plan of the Moshavim movement--is not only a vital response to the evacuation and uprooting but presents a manifestation of a responsible, balanced settlement effort countering the government policy in Judea and Samaria, a policy whose price we already have paid in the Rafiah salient and whose grave consequences will become evident after the withdrawal and during the discussions that will ensure concerning the future of the West Bank.

One should not see in the United Kibbutz Movement settlement plan and the Moshavim plan the private plans of movements that are concerned about their future and are trying to increase properties and possessions but as plans linked to their comprehensive political perception of the labor movement.

Therefore, members of the United Kibbutz Movement expect these plans to be adopted by the Labor Party and that they will be its public message and signal. Adoption of these settlement plans will reclarify the political objectives of the Labor party, establish its social and pioneering program and also serve its struggle for public opinion.

These days there is a need to devise a comprehensive settlement map that will be an answer to the plan executed in recent years by the Likud government in Judea and Samaria. There is a need for a rural and urban settlement map that will emphasize unequivocally the uniqueness of security regions, emphasize the importance of developing border districts in the Arava, Galilee and Negev and promote settlement of the regions linked to the green line in Yatir, Wadi Ara and the triangle border.

This settlement map will emphasize the purposes of the political struggle for defensible borders, will carry with it the substance of peace and will ensure the Jewish character of the State of Israel.

One should not disregard the tireless efforts of the Likud government and Gush Emunim to take for themselves the birthright of settlement. This false fog has to be dispersed not only with declarations but first of all by undertaking actions, even when the Labor alignment is not at the helm of the government, which, of course, makes it difficult to implement its settlement approach.

It would therefore have been worthwhile for the Labor Party's institutions to approve and give their blessing to the movement's settlement plans. The Histadrut and worker's enterprises should be called on to demonstrate initiative and to provide resources for the industrialization of the urban centers in the Arava, the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights, which will speed up the process of populating and establishing these regions.

None of the efforts thus far to harness the Histadrut economy for that purpose have been fruitful. Therefore, under the framework of the Agricultural Center, a special department should be established that would direct the development of urban centers in the settlement regions and establish an employment base to handle candidates for settlement and for the social foundation of the settlements.

The Zionist Labor Movement can also contribute its share by initiating contacts with youth overseas who will be called to come and join the new settlements in these regions. There is no intention here to try and replace the role of the government and the settlement institutions, but the labor movement can be asked to contribute its power to implement the settlement approach. In this way, the chances for achieving the settlement plan will provide an impetus for the educational, economic, social and political activity of the labor movement in its mission for the state and the people.

9944

CSO: 4423/150

AUTONOMY MOVEMENT SEEN AS MODIFIED ALLON PLAN

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 7 Apr 82 p 14

[Article by Gen (Res) Aaron Yariv: "The Allon Plan 1982"]

The Autonomy Arrangement Can Serve as a Vehicle for Executing an Amended Edition of the Plan; the Amendments Can be Expressed in a Major or Minor reduction of the Areas That Will Be Connected to the State of Israel; the Policy of the Likud Government Will Finally Result in Our Giving Up Most of the Areas.]

[Text] Recently the anniversary of Yigal Allon's death was observed while the Yamit region in the south was in turmoil; Judea and Samaria are agitated and disturbed and citizen revolt has been continuing for over a month among the Druze of the Golan Heights. With regard to these matters, Yigal Allon had clear and crystallized ideas. He presented them clearly, explained them and fought for them inside and outside his camp. His ideas regarding Judea and Samaria justifiably gained publicity and were known as the Allon Plan. It is worthwhile at this time to recall and explain these ideas.

The plan that was presented by the National Unity government in July, 1967 (a month after the end of the Six-Day War) was based on two factors:

A. Yigal's experience and the lessons he gained from the War of Independence; as he said at the time: "Only because of pressure by the West, Arab shrewdness and Hebrew disillusionment were the armistice borders (1949) formed the way they were."

B. His Zionist and social vision and viewpoint.

At the foundation of the plan was his desire for peace, to settle the dispute and for the existence of security for the State of Israel. Therefore, Yigal rejected the policy of "no concessions" because he was convinced it would perpetuate the dispute. He also rejected giving up all the territories (that is also what is vital for the security of the State of Israel because it would encourage extremism and would perpetuate the war; as he said, "A return to the previous borders means a return to war").



As an experienced statesman, he had the feeling at the successful completion of the Six Day War that no time should be lost and that an initiative should be undertaken with no unnecessary delays, so as not to squander an historic opportunity.

As has been noted, Yigal had clear ideas regarding all the territories, but at the date mentioned above, he presented only the plan regarding Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip to the government. I think the reason for this was that for the Sinai and the Golan Heights the National Unity government had adopted a proposal that was transmitted to the American Government, the main point of which was a willingness to retreat to the international borders in the south and in the north in exchange for peace treaties.

Two principles guided Yigal in the implementation of the plan in its initial version and in subsequent versions. On the one hand, determining a border that would provide plenty of security; and on the other hand, inclusion of as small an Arab population as possible.

According to the plan, the eastern border would be as follows: the Jordan River, a line that divides the Dead Sea and continues to the mandatory border in the Arava to the Bay of Eilat. To maintain the geostrategic integrity of Israel and to enable the establishment of defensive formations in the east, the following areas would be linked to it as inseparable parts:

- A. A strip with a fluctuating width of from 10 to 15 kilometers along the Jordan Valley from the Valley of Beit-Shean to north of the Dead Sea.
- B. A strip a few kilometers wide from north of the Jerusalem-Dead Sea traffic axis, connected with the area north of the Atarat-Beit Hureen-Latrun Road and including the Latrun region.
- C. North of the Dead Sea south along the western edge of the Judean Desert (to the perimeter of Hebron and Kiryat Arba) to the green line in the south. This strip, with an average width of 24 kilometers in the northern part, also to include the Etzion Block.

Along the Ramallah-Jericho axis a corridor would be determined to link the remainder of Judea and Samaria to Jordan. As for the Gaza Strip, Yigal proposed in the first version of his plan (the one that was presented by the government in 1967) that it would be joined to the state of Israel, and afterwards the refugees in the strip would be moved to Judea and Samaria and settled there. Later he proposed the establishment of an autonomy framework in Judea and Samaria and also in the Gaza Strip.

As for Jericho, he later suggested two possibilities: its inclusion in Israel or in Jordan within the context of a peace treaty.

Yigal also proposed to immediately begin settlement of these areas. Later, he also suggested the establishment of a legal basis for the plan.

In the government meeting at which the plan was presented for the first time it was neither accepted nor rejected, only discussed; as Yigal said at the time: "My plan could not have been accepted by the majority in the National Unity government and therefore I did not go all out for a final decision. There were those who opposed it because they thought that I left too little for the Arabs (the plan encompasses between a third to a quarter of Judea and Samaria). There were those who claimed that I left them too much, and there were those who opposed it because it was mine."

Nonetheless, they began executing the settlement plan according to the proposal. The problem of our eastern border in the region between the Beit Shean Valley and the Dead Sea illustrates our most important geostrategic problem. The reasons for that are "the opposite side of the coin of the Allon Plan," that is, of its two main components--security and demography:

A. The Haifa-Tel Aviv-Jerusalem region forms the vital area of the state of Israel. For our existence, this is an area lacking in any strategic depth.

B. The armed forces are an army of reservists; opposite them are large, regular and well-equipped Arab armies. Everything we know teaches us that these armies will increase in manpower and equipment and the quality of the latter will improve. Thus, there will be an acute need to verify that sufficient time has been set aside for the recruitment of the reserves in time of emergency and that they can be speedily brought to the front. This need requires additional strategic depth. Even in the era of ground missiles and advanced planes equipped with weapons (missiles and bombs) that are operated from a distance, these weapons can cause losses and damage and ruin the morale of the population, but they cannot conquer territory. Conquest can only be achieved by ground forces and to withstand them we have to be able to recruit the army reserves and bring them to the front before air power penetrates the vital area or crosses it within the Straits of Tulkarm and the Mediterranean (for example, the following numbers speak for themselves);

The distance from greater Haifa to the Green Line by air, 30 kilometers.

The distance from greater Tel Aviv to the Green Line by air, 17 kilometers.

The distance from greater Jerusalem to the Green Line by air, 0 kilometers.

The distance between Jerusalem and the cease-fire line with Jordan by air is 40 kilometers. I shall only add that although the numerical distances between the large, urban concentrations and the cease-fire line with Jordan are not impressive from an absolute point of view, they are compared to the numbers indicating distances to the Green Line. Therefore, it could be said that the Allon Plan places an Israeli defense line on the Jordan, and by so doing adds strategic depth to the vital areas of the state of Israel. It is clear, as mentioned above, that the Green Line as an eastern border is fraught with dangers for the State of Israel. On the other hand, one could claim:

A. The Jordan is surely not a great river and an obstacle like the Suez Canal, but it is a relative obstacle that will delay a crossing by an armed force.

B. The Jordan Valley provides a certain maneuvering space for our forces, whose task will be to delay advancing enemy forces from the east to the west.

C. The hills at the edge of the Shomron Mountains provide a good hold (or anchorage) for a defending and delaying force.

D. The edge of the mountain, which rises 800 meters, provides an excellent observation point and a good site for ground and air warning systems and for ground-to-air missile batteries.

E. The Allon Plan widens the Jerusalem Corridor and thereby strengthens the security of our capital. One can claim that the Strip along the Jordan and the Dead Sea does not have enough depth, but it should be remembered that it does not stand by itself but is supported on its flanks by Israeli territory with relative depth. One should consider the assumption that the remaining area of Judea and Samaria will be demilitarized of heavy weaponry. Finally, it should be remembered that in this case the task of the Israeli forces will not be to stop the enemy's forces but to delay them as necessary to enable the mobilization of the reserve forces and their transport to the front.

This presentation of the Allon Plan will not be complete if I do not deal also with the views that reject it for political reasons. Some are based on the assertion that if there were peace between us and our neighbors, especially Jordan, then there would be nothing to fear, and anyhow there is no need for what the Allon Plan is designed to provide for us. Some of the views are based on the assumption that there is no chance that the plan will be accepted by the other side; it is known that Husayn stated clearly that the Allon Plan cannot serve as an opening for negotiations.

As for the first claim, it is an overly simplistic viewpoint. It is inconceivable that after long years of a state of war there will be a short and clear transition to a state of true peace, that with the signing of a peace treaty there will be normal, peaceful and warm relations between the governments and populations without delay. The nature of things indicates that there will be a long period of transition, in which there will also be risks to Israel's security, while the chances of reaching full and stable peace improve and advances are made in the normalization of relations with neighbors in the east and the north. Whatever the solution regarding Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip will be, a reasonable geostrategic situation for Israel on its eastern frontier will deter aggression and encourage modernization. It should also be recognized that the region in which we live is inherently unstable and it will take some time to solve all of the problems that cause this instability. The conflicts that exist in effect could easily create a situation in which threats to Israeli security will come directly from the east.

There may be those who will claim that they accept the solutions mentioned above, but if so then the solution is not to annex Judea and Samaria to Israel but to establish a large Israeli military presence along the Jordan as proposed by the Allon Plan or some similar plan. Furthermore, the Camp David peace

agreement for the Middle East provides for specified security sites during a transition period of 6 years of autonomy and it would not be difficult to prolong this period under the framework of a peace treaty. To that I would answer that history proves the difficulty of maintaining military forces for a long period in an area where sovereignty is not in the hands of the government of these military forces, and that after a short period, the pressures brought by those with sovereignty will produce evacuations. There are those who say: If so, it is better to annex all of Judea and Samaria and in this manner, on the one hand, the security problem will be solved, and on the other hand, historical and religious desires will be satisfied. But the essence of the matter--overlooking the political implications--is based on eliminating the ambitions for a political entity of the Palestinian inhabitants, who view us as foreign conquerors holding a territory that is not ours and who even view the territory of the state as property that was stolen from them.

Furthermore, an annexation will put an end to the peace process with Egypt for which we have already paid a high price and for which in the coming days we will pay an additional high price, and all this will be for naught. The annexation will also cause complications in our relations with the United States and will isolate us during a time of military testing with our neighbors, while the nation is divided in its opinion. If anyone thinks this view is exaggerated, then he should not overlook the fact that according to reliable statistical research the Palestinian Arabs would comprise 50 percent of the population of Israel in the event of the annexation of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Clearly this would have serious ramifications for the character of the state, transforming it from Jewish to binational. If we wish to preserve the Jewish character of the state, then we would have to impair its democratic nature.

As for the second claim, that actually there is no chance that any faction having anything to do with this matter will accept the plan, I would say that if we treat the subject of autonomy for the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip seriously, it should be possible to reach an agreement with Egypt and the United States (also with U.S. assistance) in which the autonomy will serve as a transition period lasting more than 5 years. During that period, the armed forces (in accordance with the Camp David agreement) will retreat to areas more or less identical with those defined in the Allon Plan, as described above. Thus, an initial foundation will be laid. In my opinion, it is possible to produce a Palestinian solution or Jordanian-Palestinian solution at the same time through an amended version of the Allon Plan, with or without an exchange of territory with Israel. When I say an amended version, I mean that it is possible to reduce the territories to be linked to Israel to a great extent (but still to preserve the main foundations of the plan) or a small extent. In the case of the latter, the minor reduction could be balanced by an exchange of territories. The Reagan administration even today could be convinced on the matter. Also, respectable factions in Western Europe could be found that would support the plan if its reasonable presentation were accompanied by actions that proved our willingness to make progress on the Palestinian issue.

The approach taken by the Likud government headed by Menachem Begin in handling the problem of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip not only will not allow the carrying out of the Allon Plan but will finally cause us to give up the greater part of the territories, and at best the Green Line will be changed to include the urban settlements being established on the edge of the western Shomron Mountains.

As to the Alignment, its Knesset platform stated (p 8), "The Government of Israel will insist for the sake of peace on the formation of the armed forces and the settlements, to include the Jordan Valley (in addition to northwest of the Dead Sea), the Etzion Block, the Jerusalem area and the southern Gaza Strip; these will be included in the sovereign area of Israel." Well and good. But I am not completely sure that all Labor Party members really support the language and the spirit of what has been stated. I fear that there are quite a few who believe that this position leaves too little for the Arabs and quite a few who would claim that it leaves too much for the Arabs. The ambiguity that exists in the platform on this matter under discussion is unavoidable due to intraparty political points of view, but it also becomes a useful political strategy. In any case, it does not exempt the party from a decision sooner or later (and it is better sooner) and obligates all of its members to accept the position so that then the party could properly fight for it--for the Allon Plan.

Note: The details of the Allon Plan and quotations from statements by Yigal Allon were taken from Yerucham Cohen's book, "The Allon Plan," published by Hakibbutz Hamuchad.

9944

CSO: 4423/150



## BRIEFS

INJUSTICES AGAINST PALESTINIANS--Through its invasion of Lebanon, Israel "will save the world and world's peace and the independence and freedom of nations," Israeli Prime Minister Begin told some 300 Jewish leaders in New York on Thursday. It did not take long afterwards for the U.S. Secretary of State Haig to strike a similar note. He said: "The latest fighting in Lebanon provided an opportunity to correct internal circumstances which had fostered instability." To both Mr Begin and Mr Haig, the moment is right, it seems, to build peace and stability, in the Middle East and elsewhere, on the ruins of the Palestinians and their national cause. Neither Mr Begin nor Mr Haig are likely to understand or accept that, not the Palestinians, but injustice done unto them since the Balfour declaration was issued in 1918, is the root cause of all troubles in the area; and that unless this people's legitimate rights to self-determination and statehood are met, world's peace and stability will always remain an illusion. Luckily, the world is not all Haigs and Begins. Those who are not--the sweeping majority--can still do a lot to prevent such a militaristic posture from taking a destructive shape. After all, if the Israelis were forced to withdraw from Lebanon today, Begin will fall; and with him will go policies that have driven the whole world to the brink of war. [Text] [JN190824 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English 19 Jun 82 p 4]

TACTICAL EXERCISE--His Majesty King Husayn, the supreme commander of the Jordanian Armed Forces, spent last night and this morning following up a tactical exercise carried out by one of the formations of the Third Royal Armored Division with live ammunition as part of the training plan adopted by the armed forces. Last night his majesty the supreme commander was briefed on the stages and combat operations of this exercise. At dawn today his majesty followed up the progress of the exercise, in which all the formation's units took part. The Royal Air Force also took part in the exercise by carrying out air support operations. All the units participating in the exercise showed high efficiency that indicated the good training and organization of all the armed forces' units. These units carried out the tasks and duties entrusted to them accurately and successfully. Attending the exercise in the company of his majesty were Mudar Badran, prime minister and defense minister; staff Lt Gen Ash-Sharif Zayd Ibn Shakir, commander in chief of the Jordanian Armed Forces; the chief of staff, and several senior army officers. [Text] [JN141258 Amman Domestic Service in Arabic 1200 GMT 14 Jun 82]

CSO: 4400/330

'AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM' DISCUSSES U.S. STAND ON LEBANON

LD181320 Kuwait KUNA in English 1043 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 18 Jun (KUNA)--Extracts from Kuwait newspapers editorials Friday:

AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM on Reagan and Human Rights

Israel's defence minister said his war in Lebanon did not come as a surprise to Americans because Washington was aware of it.

The whole world knew that the U.S. was aware of that invasion. It was in fact Washington which gave the Zionists the green light to eliminate the Palestinian people (?and the) national forces in Lebanon.

The American stand was clear. U.S. envoy Habib is shuttling in the region to design a settlement aimed at the merciless killing of the Palestinians and the imposition of the final phase of Camp David accords.

Those who listened to President Reagan's address at the general assembly on human rights were led to believe that the American conscience was alerted after the brutal bombing of cities and villages.

But those listeneres were dismayed by the address which centered around Poland and against liberation movements in Latin America.

The rights of the Palestinians and the Lebanese are not in the White House list of priorities, rather they are in the list of eliminations which Washington plans to implement in the region.

President Reagan is no doubt aware of the Lebanese massacre and the extent of the criminal deeds committed by the Zionists with U.S. initiation which were described by the French foreign minister as similar to Nazi terror.

A message from the Palestine Liberation Organization to the same general assembly which Reagan addressed, exposed the dimensions of the massacre and extent of damages which was unprecedented. The PLO demanded an international investigations.



American allegations about human rights and international peace are meaningless and nonsense. Those allegations are merely lip service for consumption in a world without respect to human values.

Washington is ignoring the right of the Palestinians for self-determination and freedom and is trying hard to smash its resistance.

But Washington should also know that the Palestinians will never be eliminated or (?reject) their right for decent living in their own land.

Begin and Reagan should know that there will be no solution to the Middle East crises unless the Palestinians are allowed their complete legitimate rights.

The Palestinian cause will remain an unmovable [word indistinct] the face of unjust solutions because it would be extremely difficult to exceed the Palestinian mark. This has already been felt by Begin who was an eyewitness in the current war in Lebanon.

CSO: 4400/330

'AL-WATAN' DENIES U.S. VIEW OF SOVIET THREAT

LD181314 Kuwait KUNA in English 1020 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Excerpt] Kuwait, 18 Jun (KUNA)--Extracts from Kuwait newspapers editorial Friday:

AL-WATAN on the So-Called Soviet Danger

We are unable to find an innocent explanation to why we were continually told about a Soviet danger throughout the past 24 hours.

But we have more than one explanation to why the Reagan administration is viewing the Soviets as the main source of danger to global security.

It is surprising to see some politicians and writers here adopting this suspicious American theory which is meant to realize quite different objectives.

We are aware that there is an Arab political school which believes that the Soviets are the source of evil and the Marxism and Zionism emanated from one and the same root, arguing that Karl Marx was a Jew.

This might be an issue for debate if there was enough time space to do so, but at the moment when the Israeli dagger is thrown deep into the Arabs heart and U.S. planes are bombing thousands of Palestinians and towns turned into slums, we will not accept any arguments that the danger is coming from the Black Sea thousands of miles away.

We are not prepared to accept that the Americans are the protectors and rescuers. We will give a deaf ear to those who say the AWACS, U.S. troops and military bases are the elements of security in the face of the so-called Soviet danger. We are suffering a bitter humiliation and will yield no more.

This commentary is not defence of the Soviets who are occupying Afghanistan, but a warning from the trap being set for the Arab nation.

CSO: 4400/330

SOVIET STAND ON LEBANON SCORNE

GF170752 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 15 Jun 82 pp 1, 23

[Editorial: "Right! (?Where Were the Soviets?")]

[Excerpts] Eventually, after al-Basrah had been destroyed, the slow Soviet (?friend moved). We warned (?Israel) to stop its insolent aggression without delay.

Our Soviet friend might wonder about our inability to thank him, not because we are not grateful for his warning, but because of the (?war) that took us by surprise for 11 long days and nights while he was absent. O friend who was absent in time of need, where have you been?

Before we "pose with our friend" we would like to say that during this period we scorned ourselves out of our belief that we were responsible for the confrontation and for the protection of our countries and cause, and that nobody should do it for us. Nonetheless, we missed "the Soviet full moon" in our dark nights because we heard nothing from him when the diabolical U.S.-Israeli machine was striking at and destroying Lebanon and the Palestinian and Lebanese combatants, not to mention the Syria Air Force. In fact, besides our permanent suspicions about the intentions of the superpowers, we suspected that the Soviet silence was linked to a transaction with the United States on Poland and Afghanistan in exchange for Lebanon and at striking at the Palestinian and Syrian forces.

If the Soviet Union complains that some of the Arabs dispute it, why doesn't it remember and support those who are with the Soviet Union in their only battle of existence, that is, our war against Israel?

Doesn't the Soviet Union feel that it is being insulted together with us when it lets U.S.-Israeli arms strike at Soviet arms? Washington gives Israel the Hawkeyes and F-15 and F-16 jet fighters--planes which U.S. forces have not tried out yet. So why do our friends in Moscow withhold equivalent planes from the Arabs? Or do they want to see sticks fighting cannon or swords against rifles and then blame us for this?

We have always been and will remain against the U.S. policy and its savageness. However, we are hurt when we see our Soviet friend following this disappointment with us. If "Mr Friend" considers us to be "a U.S. zone," implicitly at least, let him tell us this and stop the game of treaties, belated warnings and tardy weapons. Indeed, millions of Soviet warnings to Israel will not wash away the silence of 10 days on invasion and incursion. While we do not at all accept that such would mean a U.S. political gain or an approach to U.S. policy, we want the Soviets to deal with us, especially the confrontation Arabs, who are tied to them, in the same fashion that Washington deals with Israel.

Washington always says that in every war it wants to affirm its capability to shatter Soviet arms and consequently those who bet on the Soviets. Does Moscow want to spread the idea that we are betting on a losing horse?

CSO: 4400/330

'AL 'WATAN' STATES SYRIAN ATTITUDE NOT UP TO EXPECTATIONS

PM170809 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 15 Jun 82 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "The Curse of Darkness"]

[Text] After 11 days of heroic battles the Palestinian and Lebanese fighters are still fighting alone and confronting the Zionist forces with rare bravery.

The deteriorating Arab situation is getting worse and Arab "amazement" is increasing. The Arab capitals are still reacting to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with emotions but no action.

There are calls for meetings, followed by postponements, with the capitals finally settling for exchanges of telephone calls. Apparently some people still believe that despite the flow of statements from the Arab capitals and the rain of bombs on the camps, the rain of gold is still there.

Any Arab hope of decisive action must undoubtedly lie in the direction of Damascus because Syria is present with its forces in the battlefield and because it is the main confrontation state now that the Egyptian front has been frozen. Syria is also the main military power on the front line.

In brief, a Syrian decision could change the military and political balances of power not only in Lebanon but, politically, in the entire Arab region by creating a new fait accompli based on a decision to confront, whatever the consequences. This calls for an end to the hesitation and for resolve to confront the invaders, who imposed the battle in Lebanon as a fait accompli, leaving no option other than decisive military confrontation based on a bold political decision.

It is regrettable that the Syrian attitude has so far not lived up to the great hopes of the Arab masses, who want a battle in defense of Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance, to prevent the Zionist enemy from destroying them.

The continued Arab shouting is regrettable. We believe that the right way to judge any Arab regime is not by gauging its slogans in the midst of this Arab darkness, but by looking for the slightest ray of light in this black Arab night--a small candle of light to replace the light of the Israeli bombs falling on the Palestinians and the Lebanese.

CSO: 4400/330

ISRAELI INVASION'S OBJECTIVES NOTED

GF161655 Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 16 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "May God Have Mercy Upon al-Sadat Because This Is the Beginning of the Second and Last Chapter!"]

[Text] Day by day it becomes clear that the objectives of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon are much much bigger than all the announced claims. The history of this miserable nation might reveal that this era of time is witnessing one of the biggest operations of international collusion against the Arab cause with the collaboration and consent of certain Arab regimes themselves.

It is not true that Israel will be satisfied with a demilitarized zone in the south of Lebanon 40 or 50 kilometers distant from the so-called Israel's northern border. It is not true that the Israeli forces will withdraw from Lebanon when the Syrian and Palestinian forces do. It is also not true that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon will end even if Lebanon signs a peace treaty with Israel.

It is obvious now that the objective is much greater and that the Israeli-U.S. plan was set during the visit of Israeli Defense Minister Sharon to the United States in late May 1982. U.S. President Reagan explained the objectives of this plan to his Western allies at the Versailles summit that was held from 4 to 8 June 1982, when the Israeli raids on Lebanon first started and were followed by the invading forces' advance.

This biggest objective accomplishes the second and last chapter of the Camp David process and brings the curtains down finally on the Arab-Israeli conflict. To the United States and Israel, the Arabs are bedouins: Egypt first and then the rest of the Arabs. The second chapter is dedicated to the second party, that is, all the Arabs. The scenario of the comprehensive Israeli invasion of Lebanon is supposed to lead to peace treaties with Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Afterwards, a collective Arab summit is to be held to consecrate the new status quo and give it international and Arab legitimacy.

Therefore, it is likely that the Israeli military venture in Lebanon will be completed in Syria and Jordan too. However, what the new comprehensive settlement will give to the Palestinians or the PLO is still unclear. Nonetheless, the prominent line in the current trend is the imposition of settling the Palestinians in the countries in which they live. And more likely, the area allocated for the Palestinians who live in Lebanon is not the south, or in al-Zahrani, but in the north of Lebanon, in the area from al-Biddawi to the north of Tripoli and al-Barid River, that is, in the Lebanese Akkar area and the other neighboring areas in the Syrian territories. The settlement will not take the form of an administrative entity, but [the Palestinians will be] just citizens holding Lebanese or Syrian nationality.

In return, the Golan will be restored to Syria, but as a demilitarized zone with the presence of multinational forces, as in the case of Sinai and southern Lebanon.

What the PLO will get within the framework of this comprehensive settlement is still unclear. More likely, the scheme is targeted to weaken the PLO ultimately. Then it will be given a flimsy entity according to its size in the West Bank--an entity that will be a little more than the autonomy which Israel wants and much less than what the Palestinians want for a state, that is, the establishment of a Palestinian entity in the bank like the rest of the neutral zones surrounding Israel in Sinai, the Golan, and southern Lebanon.

These seem to be the features of the Israeli invasion's objectives and... may God have mercy upon Anwar al-Sadat because he was much "more honest" than anyone else. If al-Sadat betrayed, he preferred not to associate between treason and falsehood. He rather hit the target publicly and bore the responsibility for his stand with his blood. This is much more magnanimous than those who betray secretly and ransom their treason with the blood of others.

CSO: 4400/330



LACK OF RESPONSE TO CALL FOR ARAB SUMMIT NOTED

GF201542 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 20 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Summit We Want"]

[Excerpt] Since the black Israeli aggression was unleashed against fraternal Lebanon and the Palestinian people, we have been calling on the Arab countries to hold an urgent meeting of foreign ministers in order to make a decision commensurate with the size of the ferocious hostile assault and to decide whether a summit conference is needed should the ministers consideration be insufficient to confront the situation and dispel the danger for the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. We have called for an immediate summit to be attended by all the Arab leaders, during which we will undertake to confront the aggression, support the Arab force which is represented by the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, the only fighters on the front of fire against the Israeli enemy, and try to urge the other Arab forces to perform their duty of defending the pan-Arab [qawmi] security of the nation. We have called for a summit but there has been no response. The approval of those we did hear from was more like a refusal because all the capitals started to set their conditions for attending the summit, while announcing that they wanted this summit and that it should be held very urgently.

Today we announce to all the Arabs, and to the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in particular, that our call for an Arab summit did not receive the expected response from the Arab leaders and was not met with the concern that the cause deserves.

We do not want an Arab summit in order to discuss a matter that concerns us alone. It is the cause of the Arab nation's destiny and safety today and tomorrow. Therefore, if this cause does not merit a summit, what does merit a meeting of the Arab leaders? Kuwait has made urgent contacts with the concerned persons in the Arab capitals, and we are still waiting for the Arab's agreement that the destiny of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' and Lebanon's safety on land and sea merits a summit as soon as possible. Firm, clear stands are required, and the pan-Arab decision alone is what we aspire to. We hope for a strong, unified action.

CSO: 4400/330

KUWAIT

PAPER CRITICIZES ARAB 'IMPOTENCE' BEFORE ISRAEL

PM111111 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 8 Jun 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Is There Anything in You That Moves?"]

[Text] Why does the Arab world not move? We might understand that the regimes remain silent, that the media reiterate disgusting, immature and meaningless words, that everybody, in a strange and tragic coincidence, should agree on concealing the U.S. collusion. But what we cannot understand is this silence that has engulfed the Arab masses.

For events much less significant than this [Israeli incursion into Lebanon] summit meetings used to be held, and for much less important things mass demonstrations used to march throughout the Arab world. [as printed] And for even lesser events everybody called for a boycott of the United States--Israel's partner and first protector--and for threats to and attacks against its interests.

This used to happen some 20 years ago, but we have "progressed" in time as well as in our methods and capability; many regimes have been able to achieve their greatest victory against the Arab citizen. They have achieved much during the past 20 years; they have shifted onto the citizen their impotence and paralysis, have robbed him of his ability to think and to react, have suppressed his sense of dignity and silenced him so that, whatever may happen in the Arab arena, this citizen will remain numb and even totally comatose.

Was what happened a surprise? Does anybody doubt that the Israeli plan, which has been clear to everybody, is to deal a blow to Lebanon and to annex the West Bank?

They are silent out of embarrassment and impotence. They have certainly known what Israel was preparing, but nobody seemed to care because everyone of them was busy settling his accounts with the other, or busy consolidating his seat of power, or indulging his whims, his greed, or counting his money.

But what everybody does not know is that the Arab world is smaller and narrower than they imagine it to be and that those who are hiding or closing their eyes are not as far away as they imagine. If the Golan was annexed yesterday and if Hasbaya and Tyre fell today, the fall of these towns is not the last thing. If impotence did what it has done to the Arab nation and if Israel has violated everything in the Arab world, history too has its own laws, rules and judgment which have no mercy.

CSO: 4400/330

PREMIER DISCUSSES GULF WAR, OTHER ISSUES

GF111440 Kuwait AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 10 Jun 82 p 4

["Text" of interview with Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, Kuwaiti heir apparent and prime minister, in 9 June issue of Lebanese weekly AL-MAJALIS--place not given]

[Text] [Question] Recent developments in the Iraqi-Iranian war have begun to signal a threat to the region. How can this threat be faced? Do you believe that international power politics has contributed to the creation of a climate of tension in the region in an attempt to swamp it with regional problems?

[Answer] I believe that the continuation of the war will increase the possibility of intervention by international powers which may have an interest in maintaining a presence in the region, kindling sedition and regional tension in order to weaken the area countries and sap their capabilities and resources. This threat can be confronted only by ending the war and achieving a peaceful solution to the conflict that safeguards the legitimate rights of the two sides and restores understanding, harmony between the two Muslim neighbors, consolidates stability and cooperation in the region, and wards off any shadow of foreign intervention so that the area peoples can concentrate on construction, internal development and confronting the Zionist threat to the Arab and Muslim nation.

[Question] There has been much talk about Egypt's return to Arab ranks. At the same time efforts are being made to achieve Arab solidarity. Do you believe it is time to resume the Fes summit conference so as to come up with a unified Arab stand toward developments in the Arab arena?

[Answer] Arab solidarity must be the cornerstone of any purposeful action to liberate the occupied Arab territories and serve the national causes of the Arab nation by war or peace. Undoubtedly, Egypt's return to Arab ranks is essential for the completion of effective Arab solidarity. Egypt occupies a special position in the hearts of all Arabs. It has always played a vanguard role in the defense of Arab causes.

We hope that the causes that led to Egypt's alienation from the Arabs will be eliminated and a unified stand will be reached so that the Arabs are united and the desired and needed Arab solidarity is restored.

[Question] What is your view of the recent remarks by the U.S. Secretary of State on the Iraqi-Iranian war, the Lebanese crisis and Palestinian autonomy?

[Answer] The United States is a superpower with policies and stands that are based on its own interests and calculations. We have our stands and policies that aim to serve our national interests and Arab and Muslim causes.

We hope that all world powers, large or small, will realize the importance of establishing peace in the Middle East and the need to achieve a just and lasting solution to Arab and Muslim causes, the foremost of which is the Palestinian cause.

[Question] It is said that the recent stand of the countries of the steadfastness and confrontation front on the Iraqi-Iranian war has precipitated the policy of axes in the Arab world. What in your view is the stand that has to be adopted to prevent, as much as possible, divisions in the Arab world?

[Answer] We are confident that all Arab leaders realize the enormity of the threats and challenges to Arab nation. They are undoubtedly fully aware of their national responsibilities at this fateful stage in our nation's history-- a stage that requires above all sincere efforts to unite ranks and restore Arab solidarity. As long as intentions are true, no obstacles can prevent the achievement of the desired unified stand.

CSO: 4400/330

INTERVIEW WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR ON VARIOUS ISSUES

GF181845 Kuwait AL-ANEA' in Arabic 17 Jun 82 p 5

[Interview with Soviet ambassador to Kuwait Nikolay Sikachev by Fatimah Mansur--  
date and place not given]

[Excerpts] About the dimensions of the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai and the U.S. strategic goals from this withdrawal, Mr Sikachev said: The world awaited the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. However, the issue has another side: the stationing of U.S. forces or multinational forces in Sinai, which will naturally be controlled by the United States. This means that the United States will control the airbases and other bases in Sinai which were built by Israel and then distribute its arms to them. In other words, Sinai will turn into a center for the U.S. rapid deployment forces. These forces will eventually carry out police missions such as invading Arab countries. The excuse used will be that the region is vital for U.S. interests. He added: All the Arab countries are aware of this; they are deeply worried over the stationing of military units in the heart of the Middle East. They are trying to hold an international meeting to resolve the region's problems.

Mr Sikachev expressed the Soviet Union's readiness discuss this issue with U.S. participation. [as printed] He said: I would like to say that we have long experience in this regard.

Nikolay Sikachev indicated that the importance of the Arab leaders' visits to the Soviet Union lies in the fact that they were outside the framework of bilateral relations; they showed that the views by the Soviet Union and the Arab world in general on several current basic issues are very near or identical. He added: The Moscow talks showed once more that the different regimes in Kuwait, Jordan and Libya, for example, are not an obstacle for establishing a serious and practical cooperation between the Arabs and the Soviet Union. On this basis, I reiterate that we are ready to establish normal relations with all Gulf countries in accordance with international law for the benefit of all parties. I believe that this will help in reaching just solution to the Middle East issue in general.

[Question] On the basis of your stand toward the Arab world, what is your stand on the issues of world peace?

[Answer] The Soviet Union and its socialist allies are working to create an appropriate atmosphere for the stability of international relations, and to normalize them, using the proper means to maintain and continue the policy of detente on more positive bases.

Mr Sikachev explained the Soviet peace program, which he considers a convincing alternative to the policy of all-out confrontation leading to war. He said: This program is constructive, positive and vital for today's international policies of military confrontation, while giving a special importance to the issue of reducing nuclear arms in Europe, which is considered a key to ending the mounting threat of an all-out nuclear world war.

[Question] What are your proposals for ending the threat of nuclear armament?

He asserted that the Soviet Union has decided to take a new step that reflects its determination for peace out of its belief in reaching a mutually accepted agreement.

[Question] Have you taken any measures to preserve world peace?

[Answer] Unless the international situation becomes tense, the Soviet Union intends to reduce the number of its medium-range missiles during 1982, in accordance with its initiative in this regard. We hope that during the talks, our Western colleagues will be able to respond to this initiative by taking effective good-intentioned steps. In fact, the issue requires an immediate and constructive solution because the development of new kinds of devastating weapons by the two sides will probably waste the present opportunity. Therefore, we believe that the current international situation requires the greatest degree of patience and self-possession in military activities by the two opposite alliances.

The Soviet ambassador has affirmed that his country is ready to agree on a mutual reduction of naval operations. He said he believed that it is possible to reach an agreement on the movement of nuclear submarines by the two sides from their attack positions through intensified patrol movements and by restricting their naval movements in ways that can be mutually agreed upon and by taking measures to establish confidence on seas and oceans, particularly in the regions of active trade routes. He said: In short, we are trying to turn large parts of oceans into regions of peace in the near future. These are our new proposals on the issue of limiting the massing of weapons and the use of the threat of starting another world war. These issues form the main body of our foreign policy; our government is sincerely working in this direction. The government is loyal to this major move.

CSO: 4400/330

BILL SEEKS REDUCTION OF EXPATRIATE PERCENTAGE

GF210540 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 19 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] Kuwait, 18 Jun--A proposal to scale down the number of expatriates in Kuwait over a twenty year period is contained among several other draft amendments recently submitted by a group of national assembly deputies, it was learnt today.

The proposed reduction, which would affect non-Arab nationalities in particular, seeks to bring down the percentage of all expatriates by the year 2000 to just 55 percent. According to the last census figures, compiled in 1980, non-Kuwaitis from about 60 percent of the population and that figure has now climbed even higher, according to Planning Ministry estimates.

The draft bill, sponsored among others by the National Assembly speaker Muhammad Yusuf al-Adsani, deals also with set quotas for each nationality, priorities in selecting manpower and the issue of group visas. A five-year old plan dealing with manpower requirements should be worked out by the concerned authorities and it should be strictly adhered to, the bill states.

On the subject of non-Arab expatriates, the bill says that residence permits should be granted only for a period not exceeding ten years with the exceptions of Muslims who speak and read Arabic fluently. Similarly excepted would be members of the diplomatic corps, persons seeking political asylum and house servants.

Labor should be contracted on a priority basis in future, with the first option given to Arab nationals, then to nationals of Islamic countries and lastly to citizens of other countries. No nationality should account for more than 10 percent of the total number of granted residence permits, the bill says, the exception being members of the diplomatic missions and Arab nationals working in the field of education, health engineering and certain other governmental sectors.

The bill states: ministries and other government establishments would not be permitted to grant jobs to an expatriate who has entered the country as a private sector employee. On the other hand, private sector companies would not be allowed to employ expatriates who had been brought in to work in the state sector.



The proposal states: No business establishment is allowed to accept an expatriate who had come here to work for another company.

Article 13 of the draft bill, which seeks to partly amend an Amiri decree issued in 1959, deals with the issue of group visa.

It says that the issue of group visas for private companies would be continued but under certain restricting conditions. For instance, a company which brings a specific number of expatriates for a specific job would have to repatriate those workers immediately after the job is finished.

An article of the draft bill defines strictly those residing illegally in the country. In addition to persons whose visas had expired, the definition of an illegal immigrant would also apply to those who have valid residence permits but who had either left their place of work and are not working, those who had finished a contracted job and are not leaving and those who began to work elsewhere for another employer.

In addition, any expatriate would be obliged to report to the passport department about any change in domicile in Kuwait as well as about any holiday plans outside Kuwait. No expatriate would be allowed to stay outside the country for more than a single year. If a person exceeds that period his or her residence permit would be automatically cancelled.

Residence permits will also be cancelled for other categories of expatriates, for instance those who had been "convicted of misdemeanor" or who are deemed as "threatening to the country's security."

CSO: 4400/330

# FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES BUDGET PROPOSALS

GF161120 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 16 Jun 82 pp 1, 14

[Text] Kuwait, 15 Jun--A special allocation of KD40 million to subsidize basic food commodities has been proposed by the government for this year's state budget to offset the rising costs of living, Finance Minister 'Bad al-Latif al-Hamad said in the National Assembly today.

He was delivering his 'budgetary address' in which he highlighted current economic trends affecting the country's revenues and spending policies while analysing the state of the oil sector in particular.

Details of the government proposals which were already reviewed by the finance and economic committee have been published and substantial cuts in the allocation for different services are envisaged.

In their debate today, several deputies made varied suggestions as to where 'cuts' in spending could be made after airing their initial outrage at 'Arab silence over the events in Lebanon.'

In his address, Minister al-Hamad said the government 'shouldered the responsibility of allocating funds according to an order of priorities' with the framework of its socioeconomic policy.

While acknowledging that spending cuts would be made in the coming fiscal year he stressed also that those cuts would in no way affect vital projects, such as the building of schools, hospitals or mosques.

"Directing expenses means deciding what is to be spent where," he said.

"Car telephones for instance are less important than house telephones. If someone wishes to own a car telephone, let him bear the real cost of the system's installation. A similar criteria must be applied to all other items."

The minister started his address by saying that Kuwait's oil sector's revenues dropped in the fiscal 1981-82 by approximately ten percent, from KD7,386 million to 6,693 million. In the same year, Kuwait's trade balance realized a surplus of KD1,321 million, against KD1,517 in the previous year.

Oil and oil derivatives remained the driving force of Kuwait economy as it contributed respectively 66 percent to the gross national product, 95 percent to the state revenues and 90 percent to Kuwait foreign revenues.

But as an encouraging sign of the rising importance of non-oil revenues, the finance minister cited the contribution to the GNP of other sectors which he said went up by 16.1 percent over last year.

Yet, despite the drop in oil revenues, the black gold will continue to be a vital influencing factor in the economy of future, he said.

"The importance of oil emanates from its role as a chief revenue source deeply affecting inter-relations between all other economic sectors as well as the relations between the domestic economy and international markets," al-Hamad said.

"As such, oil should be viewed as a national wealth and it is up to the government to handle that wealth with utmost care," he added.

In 1981-82, the drop in petroleum output was estimated to be down by 32 percent over the previous year, he said while gas production slumped by 28 percent. This drop must be viewed against an 84-percent and 88-percent increase in the utilization of natural gas in the years 1980 and 1981 respectively.

In the industrialization and petroleum by-products sector, operations fell by 16 percent last year, average daily exports of the crude ran at 814 million BPD compared to 1.3 million BPD in the previous year, he said.

Concentrating on Kuwait's chief clients, al-Hamad said the Far East remained the country's best customer by lifting 68.5 percent of the yearly production. Japan, Taiwan and South Korea headed the list followed by western Europe countries. The Europeans took 62.5 percent less than in the past, however. Major European clients were Holland and Britain while France had scaled down its lifting to only 19,500 barrels compared to 62,400 BPD in 1980, a drop of 68 percent.

Meanwhile, more Kuwaiti oil now went to eastern European countries while customers in other Arab and Latin American countries slashed their orders.

Exports of refined products also tumbled over the previous year, the finance minister said. While in 1980 Kuwait exported 308,000 BPD, last year it was 255,000 BPD, a difference of 17 percent.

Asia and the Far East again provided major outlets for Kuwait's exports in this field, with Pakistan and Japan being the largest buyers, lifting 27,000 and 26,000 BPD each respectively.

Production of ship fuel was down by 27.7 percent last year, al-Hamad said with the output listed as 26,000 BPD against 36,000 before.

Exports of liquefied petroleum gas suffered in the same way, registering a 27.65 percent fall. Kuwait sold 1,598 thousand metric tons in 1981 against 2,209 in 1980.

In the domestic market, consumption of petroleum products increased over the previous year but a aviation fuel output was down while the lubricating oil maintained its levels.

Gas consumption shot up by 104 percent in the same year with sales going up from 77,573 million liters in 1980 to 1170 in the past year. [as printed]

In conformity with Kuwait's policy to foster relations with other Arab countries in the fields of energy, several cooperation programmes were carried out either directly with those governments or through Arab and regional organizations, the minister told the assembly.

To realize those objectives, Kuwait made a capital participation towards the Arab company for engineering investment.

The 20-million dollar joint venture formed under the umbrella of OAPEC is currently operating on a 12-million dollar paid up capital and Kuwait is holding a 10.7 percent share.

Kuwait also took a lead role in the formation of the Arab organization for mineral resources, the minister said.

Kuwait remained active in the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries where efforts were now under way to maintain a unified pricing structure, he said.

In selecting projects, priority was usually given to schemes which promised both to meet domestic requirements and produce for exports. As most important Kuwait viewed the following: petrochemicals, engineering industry and recycling industries.

Deputy 'Abd al-Muhsin Jamal said labor should be imported only from Arab countries and better teachers should be provided for the country's schools.

Deputy Jasim al-Khurafi outlined the problem of wasted pharmaceuticals for which he said there was little demand. "Bad storage facilities spoiled otherwise excellent medicines," he said.

Deputy Hadil al-Ja'alvi mentioned overstaffing in the ministries while another deputy mentioned the crowds in the passport department. He also bemoaned the departure of experts from hospitals.

Other deputies said various ministries often ordered equipment which they did not need and later sold it in public auctions. They called for the reduction in the number of government provided cars.

CSO: 4400/330

AL-JUMAYYIL STATEMENT AFTER MEETING AL-AS'AD

NC181313 Beirut Voice of Lebanon in Arabic 1215 GMT 18 Jun 82

[Excerpts] The speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Kamil al-As'ad today held consultations with the Phalangist parliamentary faction led by Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil within the framework of efforts to adopt a unified parliamentary stand toward the rapid developments in the country.

After the meeting Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil told correspondents: The Lebanese have chosen the democratic system in a normal manner. The Chamber of Deputies, despite all its mistakes, legally represents Lebanon with its two wings as well as the minorities. We asked speaker al-As'ad that the Chamber of Deputies say what the Lebanese wants. [sentence as printed] We want a sovereign and free Lebanon independence of the East and West and a friend to all and a refugee to the persecuted in the world. The Chamber of Deputies is the only institution empowered to clarify these matters frankly and loudly to the regime represented by the president of the republic, the prime minister and the ministers.

The president must adopt the method of the benevolent dictator on the basis of the powers granted to him by the constitution. Only the Lebanese represent Lebanese public opinion, and not the Syrian, Iraqi, Libyan or any other--with all due respect to them. They do not represent the Lebanese, be he Muslim or Christian, since no one can understand the reality of the Lebanese cause better than the Lebanese who experience it. It will be a pity to lose the unique Lebanese formula which we have given to the world as a civilization.

The Phalangist Party leader added: We have tolerated the Palestinian occupation and the Syrian mandate. Now the Israelis have come inside the house, and it would be too much to tolerate three occupations.

Regarding the Israeli army's threat to western Beirut, Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil said: Why talk about threat. The Israeli army has come inside and in all of Lebanon. We have always warned that the actions on the ground will force Israel to stage an occupation, and this is what happened. I am against everything that is not Lebanese, and against any occupation without discriminating between brother, friend or enemy.

CSO: 4404/329

LEBANON

MUFTI CALLS TO ARAB, ISLAMIC LEADERS FOR ASSISTANCE

NC192007 Beirut Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] His Eminence the Mufti of the Lebanese republic, Shaykh Hasan Khalid, has addressed a cable to the Arab and Islamic kings, presidents and rulers outlining the Lebanese tragedy as a result of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. He has urged them to interfere to help Lebanon and the Palestinians to confront this invasion.

His Eminence called for assisting Lebanon through the great powers to bring about the immediate withdrawal of the Israeli forces and to lift the siege of Beirut. He said: We have been valiantly and admirably standing fast for 10 days against the oppressive Israeli invasion. However, the Lebanese towns are being destroyed and burned one after the other, the Lebanese people are being made homeless and thousands are being killed and wounded. The enemy is now at the gates of Beirut, which includes 1.5 million people who are threatened with death, destruction, hunger and thirst and diseases which can kill them. The Lebanese and Palestinians feel that they are alone confronting an enemy whose cruelty and policy of extermination against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples is unequalled throughout history.

We urge you, while we are doing our utmost to mobilize the forces of our people, to come to our aid with all available possibilities and to help us through the great powers to bring about the immediate unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory, starting with lifting the siege of Beirut, and to ward off the dangers which threaten the whole Arab and Islamic homeland should the Israeli enemy be able to achieve his aggressive objectives in your homeland, Lebanon.

CSO: 4404/329

AMAL SPOKESMAN ON IRANIAN ROLE IN LEBANON

LD191035 Tehran IRNA in English 0954 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] Damascus, 19 Jun (IRNA)--The Muslim combatants of Iran can neutralise all U.S.-Zionist "solutions" for Lebanon which aim to impose a submissive peace, said the Amal movement's spokesman, Abu Hisham, here on Saturday. He added that the Islamic Republic of Iran committed itself more than what had been expected of it.

The main objective of the Zionist enemy's aggression against southern Lebanon was to suppress the Palestinian revolution as well as the Islamic revolutionary movement in Lebanon. Asked concerning the possibility of the dispatch of forces to Lebanon from Arab countries, Abu Hisham said that there was no hope in that respect. Of course, he added, Arab countries had claimed to put all their facilities at the disposal of Lebanon but so far had taken no measure in this regard. The Saudi Arabian rulers had announced they would send help to Lebanon but these were vain promises as the objective was to preserve the interests of Zionism, the Amal spokesman asserted.

Commenting on Iraq's stance, Abu Hisham noted that the Iraqi regime was a U.S.-Zionist aligned regime since the Iraqi imposed war on Iran was in the interests of the Zionists and aimed at hindering Iran in its fight with the regime occupying al-Quds [Jerusalem]. Those who created barriers in the way of Iran's struggle with the occupier regime of al-Quds, were Zionists, Abu Hisham remarked.

CSO: 4404/329



PHALANGE OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON LEBANESE FORCES, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Beirut AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1330, 30 Apr 82 p 8

[Interview with Karim Paqraduni by Sharbal Zughayb; date and place not specified]

[Text] Lawyer Karim Paqraduni, member of the political bureau of the Phalange Party, is regarded as the "foreign minister" of the party. Since he is one of the outstanding individuals who speak in the name of the party, some people once nicknamed him "engineer" of the Syrian-Phalange dialogue. Whenever there is talk of the need to promote and intensify this dialogue, the name of Paqraduni is suggested because he is among the prominent persons close to Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil, leader of the Lebanese Forces.

Herewith follows AL-HAWADITH's interview with lawyer Karim Paqraduni:

[Question] Where does the Lebanese Forces organization stand now?

[Answer] The leadership of the Lebanese Forces has finally placed the internal organization under the Forces and made appointments to all the principal positions. The Lebanese Forces are now able to take in Lebanese students and workers to train them.

[Question] What is the purpose of the Lebanese Forces training students and (other) young people?

[Answer] We believe that if the Lebanese Army had been able to organize military training since independence in a serious way, the army would not have been split in 1975, for an army that does not attract the people to it is not an army. The Lebanese Forces are desirous of achieving three objectives through military training:

- (1) Participation of every citizen in the defense of the homeland so that the defense of the land and the people is not the sole responsibility of any one group.
- (2) Providing new cadres for the Lebanese Forces which are in the process of expanding and growing.

(3) Attracting Lebanese youth and organizing them for the Lebanese resistance. There will be an announcement about the military training system before next June.

[Question] How are the relations between the Lebanese Forces and the army and the legitimate authorities in general?

[Answer] The relations between the Lebanese Forces and the Lebanese Army were marked by clashes until the end of 1979, after which they evolved in a positive direction and have now become harmonious. This change in the military field is a result of a political change, for the Lebanese Forces fully support the legitimate authorities to the point where Bashir al-Jumayyil said at a meeting of the political bureau: "The legitimate authorities do not bear the responsibility for the actions of others.... Today I am almost the only one who defends them."

[Question] There are many rumors circulating about the possibility of a military explosion soon. What is your information?

[Answer] We do not have any private information as much as we have a general impression. Our impression is that the situation in the South is highly volatile and fragile. We believe Lebanon to be the most explosive region in the world. It can change into a regional war and, moreover, do so at a time when other centers of tension in the world are local.

[Question] Abu 'Ammar expects an Israeli invasion of the South. If that should happen, would it have any negative internal impact?

[Answer] Any Israeli military intervention would undoubtedly alter the current balance in Lebanon. In confronting this possibility, the Lebanese Phalange adopted a political stance that rests on two principles: (1) Lebanon is not to be transformed into a second Israel and (2) there must be complete harmony between the Phalange and the legitimate authorities so that all the decisions will be lawful and reached by lawful means.

[Question] What will the situation be like after April from the Arab and Lebanese standpoints?

[Answer] I expect Egypt to return to the Arab World via the familiar political axis--from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Fatah Movement. The aim will be to revive Prince Fahd's plan, if only in a modified form. This may have already begun with secret high-level contacts. Iraq's role will remain dependent on the outcome of its struggle with Iran. The fact is political intermediaries will not end the war because it has become a war of regimes rather than a war for territory.... This war will wind up either in the defeat of Baghdad or in the defeat of Tehran. There is no third possibility....

With respect to Lebanon, eyes will turn to the presidential elections, which are considered a symbol of the coming solution. The new president will be either the president of the Lebanese solution or the president of the Lebanese predicament. I believe the coming elections will be the beginning of the solution.

[Question] Most observers link together the Golan Heights, West Bank, and southern Lebanon. Are they (really) interrelated in your opinion? Will this triangle be the starting point for resolving the Middle East crisis?

[Answer] We refuse to tie the South to any territory or other problem because doing so would mean tying Lebanon to another problem. And any tying of the South to any non-Lebanese problem means turning Lebanon into a bargaining chip either to settle the Palestinians in it or detach a part of it. We are against settlement, against explanation [as published], and against partition.

[Question] In your capacity as engineer of the Syrian-Phalangist dialogue, which you were for a time, where does this dialogue stand now? What is its current temperature?

[Answer] The temperature is cold but not below zero.... The dialogue is continuing, but there is no agreement as yet.

[Question] Regarding the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, do you believe the situation can be altered on the basis of agreements already made with them or by signing new agreements?

[Answer] The attempt at signing agreements with the Palestinians simply failed and caused this destructive war. We do not believe a return to the adjustment of agreements is a very sound approach. We consider the return of Lebanese sovereignty over all Lebanon and all Palestinians is the correct way and if achieved, it would benefit the Lebanese and not harm the Palestinians.

Lebanon cannot bear the Palestinian military burden alone. The most it can do is to play a political role not a military one.

[Question] The National Movement or the other group is concentrating on a Lebanese-Syrian-Palestinian solution. In your opinion, is this solution attainable and on what basis and who will represent the Lebanese party in it?

[Answer] Only the legitimate Lebanese authority represents Lebanon and all the Lebanese whether they like it or not.... Mutual Syrian-Lebanese understanding, Lebanese-Palestinian understanding, and Lebanese-Arab understanding--these are what the Phalange is striving for and have tried to achieve in several stages. It strove for mutual understanding with the Palestinians between 1973 and 1975 and it strove for mutual understanding with Damascus between 1975 and 1978, and it is still striving for mutual understanding with the Arabs through the Arab Follow-up Committee.

[Question] Regarding the presidential elections, they say there are three kinds of president: a president for settlement, a president for challenges, and a president for national accord. What is the chance of success for each?

[Answer] A president for settlement does not interest us because it means a continuation of the crisis. A president for challenges is unacceptable to us because it means the partition of Lebanon. A president for accord, however, is the most preferable. What we want is a president for national salvation, a man who will pull Lebanon out of the quagmire of war to build the Lebanon of the year 2000.

[Question] In all the polls conducted in the eastern region, Dean Raymond Iddih or Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil is the president desired. In the western region, the dean was first. Can the Phalange Party support Dean Iddih?

[Answer] The Phalange Party has not yet determined its position on the presidential elections. I expect the Phalange will have a front candidate or a candidate supported by the Lebanese Front. Until the decision is made, all appraisals are a matter of personal opinion. Personally, I prefer without doubt Bashir al-Jumayyil to Raymond Iddih.

[Question] Our constant wish is for a government of actions able to devise a solution and carry it out. Any government that simulates actions or holds off from actions remains a marginal government that has no influence but is itself influenced.

[Question] It is said the president of the republic, as a result of his conviction that there will be a constitutional vacuum, will proceed to appoint a government with a Christian as head. Are you in favor of such a government... Will you put up a particular person as a candidate for the presidency?

[Answer] There is no constitutional vacuum in the legal sense of the word because the constitution stipulates that the government will take the place of the president of the republic in case the office of the presidency is vacant. Since there is national agreement that the president of the republic should be a Maronite, it is natural that the head of the government which takes the place of the president of the republic should also be a Maronite. There is the precedent of Fu'ad Shihab directing the government which supervised the election of President Camille Sham'un after the resignation of Bisharah al-Khury.

5204

CSO: 4404/459

## BRIEFS

FINANCIAL PROTOCOL SIGNED--Brussels, 11 Jun--The second financial protocol concluded between the Kingdom of Morocco and the EEC was signed in Brussels on Wednesday. This protocol, valued at 199 million European currency units (ECU), was signed on behalf of Morocco by Zine El Abadine Sebti, His Majesty the King's ambassador in Brussels and the kingdom's chief representative to the European Communities, and on behalf of the EEC by Ambassador Pierre Noterdaeme, Belgium's permanent representative and current chairman of the permanent representatives' committee. The 199 million-ECU sum is to be used in its entirety to either finance or help to finance investment projects in the production and economic infrastructure spheres, among other things, with a view to diversifying Morocco's economic structure and, especially, encouraging its industrialization and the modernization of its agricultural sector as well as activities relating to technical cooperation either preparatory or complementary to investment projects and technical cooperation in the training sphere. It has also been decided that 1 year before the protocol expires Morocco and the EEC will consider what arrangements can be made in the sphere of financial and technical cooperation for an additional period. [Excerpt] [PM221111 Casablanca LE MATIN in French 11 Jun 82 pp 1, 5]

CSO: 4500/204

DAMASCUS PAPER ASSAILS COUNTRY'S ARAB ENEMIES

PM171351 Damascus TISHRIN in Arabic 14 Jun 82 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Sudden 'Concern' About the Palestinians Demonstrated by Killers of the Palestinian People and Those Allied With the Enemy"]

[Excerpts] The voice of those steeped in treason are being raised in more than one Arab capital denouncing the cease-fire and the "Syrian silence."

The king of Transjordan who massacred the resistance in Black September 1970, when he killed more than 20,000 Palestinians, and who since that time has waged a merciless and barbarous campaign against our Palestinian people, filled his jails with hundreds of Palestinians and Jordanians, and killed hundreds of our steadfast people by using the "brotherhood" gang--this king, who is steeped in treason, is today demonstrating sudden concern about the Palestinians. In a message to the security council he alleged that the cease-fire was a surprise to the Israelis. In the meantime he instructed the hireling, anti-nationalist newspapers to launch a rabid attack on Syria, which preceded and has continued during the Zionist invasion of Lebanon to this moment. His newspapers allege, for example, that Syria is about to withdraw its forces from Lebanon so that Israel can corner and liquidate the Palestinian resistance.

Iraq's Saddam, that American butcher who led a war against our Syrian citizens and who massacred the Iraqi people and army in a non-nationalist war planned by U.S. imperialism, who destroyed Iraq's resources for several years and killed tens of thousands of innocent members of the friendly Iranian people, who are ready to come to the help of the Palestinian cause, has now suddenly become more "Palestinian" than the Palestinians themselves despite the fact that he has turned his back on every national commitment.

The Cairo papers, which reflect the views of the regime allied with Israel, are surprised by Syria's "silence" over confronting the Israeli invasion and demand unity in the Arab ranks.

This is in addition to reactionary voices heard here playing the same tune and to reactionary Arab moves aimed at fishing in muddy waters.

It only remained for King Hassan II to declare his "great love" for the Palestinians, given the fact that he sponsored the Camp David agreements in his palace and held under his supervision the treasonous contacts between the Cairo ruler and the rulers of Israel. It only remained for Sultan Qabus also to declare his great care for Palestinians.

While Syria, under the leadership of its struggler President Hafiz al-Asad, was repelling these reactionary onslaughts, it was keeping an eye on the enemy's movements, warning against the major U.S. conspiracy, and calling on Arabs to unite their ranks and speak with one voice, but there was no response. The U.S. backed Zionist invasion against sister Lebanon has once more thwarted the falsehoods of the conspirators and traitors and has made it clear to Arabs from the ocean to the Gulf that the only danger to them is the Zionist danger. All Arab eyes turned toward Syria and, being as usual the faithful guardian of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, Syria threw all its capabilities into the battle and the valiant Syrian Arab Army, whom the traitors wanted to stab in the back, advanced and alone went to defense of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and Arab land. It fought with all types of weapons and it fought like men and halted the Zionist invasion on the various salients, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

But the traitors, the turncoats and those who conspired against the Palestinian people, those who signed the shameful peace with Israel, and those who killed the Palestinian people, the Iraqi and Syrian peoples and the Iranian people are opposed to the cease-fire!

They believed that the Zionist invasion would do away with Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese steadfastness, but the steadfast Syrians, Palestinians and Lebanese frustrated their hopes.

They believed that the Zionist attack would destroy forever the base of Arab steadfastness--Syria--and liquidate the Palestinian resistance and people. But they have lost and the enemy has retreated and been routed, have their plans. [as printed]

The traitors, the turncoats, the conspirators, those who signed the shameful peace, the murderers of pan-Arab struggle, and those who throughout the past period were harping on the tune of Soviet and Iranian danger have been exposed to all. The Soviet Union hastened to support the steadfastness of the Syrian-Palestinian-Lebanese triangle, and the alleged Iranian danger produced volunteers who came to the battlefield to fight the Zionist enemy side by side with the Syrian and Palestinian fighters.

The traitors, turncoats, and those who signed the shameful peace devoted their radios and press to echoing the lies of the Zionist enemy's psychological warfare; they have spread venom and detracted from the valor of the



Great October [War] army, the army that faced and repelled the most vicious attack by the enemy; they have attacked the volunteers whom our Arab people sent to fight in the battlefields and instead they sent gangs of saboteurs to help the enemy and stab the fighters in the back.

The traitors, conspirators and those who signed the shameful peace with the enemy are spreading falsehoods today. They are to be excused for their downfall is imminent and the hour of accounting to the masses is drawing closer.

Finally, Syria today and tomorrow, as it was in the past, will remain the bastion of Arab steadfastness and the advanced trench of the Arab nation as well as its loud voice and living conscience. The Russian army will remain the great army of October, protecting our Palestinian and Lebanese people, as it is doing at this moment in every place in Lebanon, and defending them against the enemy with its pure blood.

CSO: 4404/329

## SYRIA

### PRESS DISCUSSES FIRM STAND AGAINST AGGRESSION

JN181015 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0645 GMT 18 Jun 82

[From the press review]

[Text] AL-BA'TH says: Syria again asserts that its doors are wide open for the volunteers of the Arab nation who want to enter the pan-Arab battle of destiny. As always, Syria opens its arms to welcome every Arab crossing its borders and wanting to live on its soil. Syria has never closed its doors in the face of its nation's sons. Syria is great because of its Arab nationalism and its policy is based on this principle, which is recognized by every Arab. In welcoming Arab volunteers, Syria also points to the defeatism of many Arab regimes, whose leaders, if they are really Arab as they claim should avoid statements of condemnation and denunciation and declare instead their loyalty to their Arabism rather than to the United States, and, consequently, Israel.

TISHRIN says: Those who think that Syria will lose its will under the pressure of the Zionist aggression, must know that Syria does not rest and has no delusions. In its current confrontation of the Zionist aggression on Lebanon, Syria follows priorities based on scientific and strategic facts. These priorities enjoy equal importance in any phase or situation. Syria has maintained and will always maintain a balance between political flexibility and revolutionary firmness in order to achieve the most accomplishments with the least cost. Syria's firm principled pan-Arab stand in defense of Lebanon and the Palestinian people constitutes the main basis for the required Arab stand in confronting the plot against the Arab nation.

AL-THAWRAH says: When Syria refuses to withdraw its forces from Beirut and when its fighters continue to confront the racist Zionist enemy in one trench alongside the fighters of the joint Palestinian and Lebanese forces, it is defining the road which the Arabs must pursue--the road of confronting aggression, concerting efforts and pooling resources to deter aggression. The Syrian armed forces have recorded and are still recording glorious pages of heroism and pride, embodying by blood Syria's pan-Arab commitment to the Palestinian Arab people's cause and defense of the pan-Arab cause, Lebanon and the Arab nation's honor, dignity and future.

CSO: 4404/329

AL-SA'IQAH ISSUES STATEMENT ON LEBANON

JN200032 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 2345 GMT 19 Jun 82

[Text] The world states and international organizations and bodies continue to denounce and condemn the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, expressing support for and solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' struggle to repulse this invasion.

In Damascus the general command of the popular liberation war vanguards organization--al-Sa'iqah forces--greeted the valiant Syrian armed forces' confrontation of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon. This was stated in the political statement issued by the organization yesterday. The statement was addressed to the masses of our nation, our militant Palestinian Arab people and the steadfast Lebanese Arab people. It stressed that the main objective of Israel's aggression against Lebanon is to score a quick victory through a comprehensive genocide of the Palestinians and a destructive blow to the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese nationalist movement and Syria's heroic steadfastness under struggler President Hafiz al-Asad in the face of the imperialist capitulatory plots.

The statement added that Israel's desperate attempts at political extortion by exerting pressure on the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese authority and some other forces as well as the U.S. imperialist attempts and U.S. envoy Philip Habib's attempts to divest the Palestinian resistance of its weapons will not be successful regardless of sacrifices because our fighters' steadfastness will turn Beirut into a graveyard for the invaders.

The statement praised the heroic steadfastness of our revolutionaries in all their positions, stressing that the Arab fighters from Syria, Palestine and Lebanon will foil all the invaders' dreams. It added that all peace-loving free forces of the world, headed by the friendly USSR, will always stand by our side in our just battle.

CSO: 4404/329

## SYRIA

### BRIEFS

SYRIAN STAND ON LEBANON--Comrade Zuhayr Mashariqah, assistant secretary general of the Ba'th Party's regional command, today held a meeting at al-Fayha' Hall attended by the party's regional command members and the workers and supporters of the party's Damascus branch. Comrade Mashariqah briefed them on the battle our armed forces fought and are still fighting against the Zionist enemy in fraternal Lebanon in defense of the Lebanese people and the Palestinian revolution. Comrade Mashariqah also discussed the dimensions of the conspiracy against the Arab region and asserted that the latest Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the Palestinian revolution is another link in that conspiracy. He emphasized that the party's leaders were well aware of the dimensions of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plan in implementing the Camp David agreements and their overt and covert followup. Mashariqah said that Syria condemned and rejected these agreements and called for the achievement of a strategic balance between Syria and the Arab masses on the one hand and the Zionist enemy and its imperialist and reactionary allies on the other. He said that Syria under Comrade Hafiz al-Asad worked and is still working at achieving that balance. Comrade Mashariqah asserted that our heroic armed forces in Lebanon will remain as our people have always known them to be--the brave and solid defenders of the Palestinian revolution and the fraternal Lebanese people. During his speech, Comrade Mashariqah explained Syria's Arab and international relations and the country's position regarding our pan-Arab causes. He explained that the USSR's position has always been one of support for the just struggle of our people and country against imperialism and Zionism. [Text] [JN210405 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1615 GMT 20 Jun 82]

RESISTANCE ON BORDERS--Hamburg, 19 Jun (DPA)--According to Syrian Information Minister Ahmad Iskandar Ahmad following the Israelis' "bestial invasion" of Lebanon, Syria will "have no alternative but to kick the invaders out again." In an interview with the news magazine DER SPIEGEL Iskandar said that Syria is forced to support and fight for the Palestinians. He also made it plain that his country's borders are open for Palestinian resistance; "the Syrian territory was and is a starting point for Palestinian actions against the occupation and will remain so. This is an official statement." There is a fateful link between Palestinians and Syrians. Iskandar said that he is "very satisfied" with the USSR's support. He is convinced that material losses in the fight against the Israeli troops will be made good by the Soviet Union. He also admitted that the Israelis have military advantages: "Even if all the Arabs were to pool their damned arms, Israel would, militarily speaking, remain the stronger since it has such a lot of modern American arms." [Text] [LD192032 Hamburg DPA in German 1759 GMT 19 Jun 82]

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

July 2, 1982